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ABSTRACT

This study of a Mennonite community and a sample of its students attending both a Mennonite and a public high school examines the educational process. Research objectives were to (1) construct an ethnography of the Minnonite school in order to understand the process of cultural transmission, (2) discover the patterns of cognition of the study participants, (3) ascertain the function of informal networks and ethnic identity in the transmission of culture, and (4) provide inductive generalizations. Information gathered by participant observation, formal and informal interviews, and various measures of ethnicity and cognitive perception documents the process of change due to passage of time and school orientation. Findings about value orientation, normative activities, evaluation of ethnic membership, religious orthodoxy, self-esteem, social networks, learning potential, and personality types are presented in the report. The impact of the Mennonite school on student attitudes is found to be most influential in the areas of normative, preferred or accepted, activities. The school appears to have minimal impact on student attitudes toward ethnicity, orthodoxy, and self-concept. Statistical and descriptive data from the study are included in the report. (JH)

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Cultural Transmission and Instrumental Adaptation to Social Change: Lancaster Mennonite High School in Transition

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ABSTRACT

This research report is based on a study of the Mennonite community near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and specifically a secondary Mennonite high school in this community with an enrollment of 519 pupils and a faculty of 37. The objectives were these: (1) To construct an ethnography of the school in order to understand the process of cultural transmission, (2) to discover the patterns of cognition on the part of the participants, (3) to ascertain the function of informal networks and ethnic identity in the transmission of culture, and (4) to provide inductive generalizations.

The methods of research represent interdisciplinary fields: anthropology, sociology, and social psychology. Research techniques used were participant observation, formal and informal interviews, and various instruments including the Myers-Briggs Indicator, Likert scales, measures of ethnicity and cognitive perceptions of change.

The principal findings include the following:

Values. Mennonite culture maintains a value orientation which is significantly different from adults and students in the general population. However, Mennonite parents show a greater degree of agreement as to the relative importance of selected values than do Mennonite students.

Normative Activities. There is evidence of rapid social change within the Mennonite culture indicated by the fact that students were significantly lower than the parents in their endorsement of traditional activities. Students attending the ethnic school indicated a greater preference for traditional normative activities than the Mennonite students attending public schools.

Ethnicity. Parents were higher in their evaluation of ethnic membership than were students. The students attending the ethnic school did not increase their evaluation of ethnic membership more than the Mennonite students who attended public schools during the school year. The ethnic school plays an important role in transforming the ethnic identity from concrete daily practice into an abstract symbolic orientation.

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Religious Orthodoxy. All Mennonite groups (parents, students and teachers) scored very high in their endorsement of orthodox religious beliefs. The students rated significantly higher on orthodoxy than non-Mennonite students in public schools. This finding indicates a stability of orthodox religious beliefs during a period of rapid external social change.

Self-Esteem. Mennonite students and parents were similar in their self-concept. Transfer students to the ethnic school exhibited the least increase in self-esteem.

Social Networks. Both Mennonite students and parents reported a high degree of ethnic embeddedness in their social networks. The ethnic school functions to increase the ethnic embeddedness of the networks of students who transfer there from the public schools.

Analysis of Learning Potential. The Mennonite students' distribution of learning potential scores is higher than the distribution of a national sample of students in comparative grades.

Personality Types. On the Myers-Briggs Indicator, the Mennonite students, teachers, and board members showed a strong tendency for feeling over thinking types and sensing over intuitive. The staff had a higher percentage of judgmental types than did the student body.

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PREFACE

The authors wish to thank the pupils, parents, board members, administrators, faculty and staff of the Lancaster Mennonite High School for their cooperation in making this research possible. Specifically we acknowledge the help and support of the Principal, Dr. J. Lester Brubaker.

We are grateful to Dr. H. Dale Spaulding, Principal, and Jere W. Schuler, Chairman of the Department of Social Studies, for administering questionnaires to junior and senior students at Lampeter-Strasburg High School, Lampeter, Pennsylvania.

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This research project was designed to produce insights into the educational processes of an ethnic community by the use of social science research methods, both anthropological and sociological. The research problem has four objectives: (1) to construct an ethnography of a specific school system in a community of rapid social change, (2) to discover the patterns of cognition and perceptions of social change on the part of pupils, teachers, administrators, and parents by the use of appropriate and selected instruments, (3) to ascertain the function of informal networks in the transmission of culture, and (4) to provide inductive generalizations in a manner that will maximize our understanding of educational policy in dealing with social change.

Numerous related questions were also the concern of this project: (1) What is the impact of the ethnic school on its students? (2) To what extent does the school transmit normative values? (3) What is the nature and extent of differences between the Mennonite students who attend the ethnic high school and those who attend the public high schools? (4) What is the nature of the interpersonal processes through which normative behaviors are transmitted or sustained? (5) To what extent is the ethnic school a defensive structure which increases ethnic identity and ethnic commitment? (6) How does the ethnic school mediate the conflict between secular and traditional Mennonite values?

The setting of the study is Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where a traditional culture finds itself in the "middle" of rapid social transformation. The county population is made up of traditional Pennsylvania Germans who have inhabited the area since the colonial period. Many ethnic and religious groupings are represented here from very conservative to economically progressive families, but who are now confronted with the problem of technological change and alteration of subsistence patterns. In the past the region was a homogeneous, agricultural, folk-like community. Today it is only partly agricultural, as the countryside is being transformed into a national tourist attraction, a suburban population, and a highly industrialized area. The focus of the study is the Lancaster Conference Mennonite community, a religious body more in the sphere of economic and social change than the most traditional groups in the area such as the Old Order

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Amish (Hostetler 1969). There appear to be a greater variety of adaptations to change among the "middle range" of the Mennonite groupings than among the Amish groups.

Social forces and facts in the Mennonite culture exert coercive influence on individuals. These ways of acting, thinking, and perceiving are transmitted and sustained by the ethnic school. Behavioral expectations, beliefs, and normative values of the Mennonite culture impinge on the adolescent attending the ethnic school. This research will explore the nature of the social process by which these social facts are passed on to the student in the ethnic school. A different set of social facts constitute the public school milieu. What are the consequences for Mennonite students exposed to these different social environments?

The Lancaster Mennonite High School (LMHS) provides a setting for a natural experiment which may answer the research questions. The study will compare three different groups of Mennonite students: Ethnic (Mennonite students at LMHS, 1973-74, who attended LMHS the previous year(s), Transfer (Mennonite students who transferred into LMHS in September 1973), and Public (Mennonite students in public high schools, 1973-74).

ORIENTATIONS IN HIGH SCHOOL RESEARCH

Sociological

Elmtown's Youth (Hollingshead 1949) was the virgin flight of what Coleman (1964) has called the sociologist's "fruit fly." Hollingshead's classical study emphasized the impact of social class on the social organization of adolescents in the high school. Gordon (1957) conducted an intensive analysis of a Midwestern high school in an attempt to explore the relationship between social status and adolescent behavior. In a similar in-depth case study, Stinchcombe (1964) focused on the rebellious behavior of adolescents in a predominantly working class California school.

Coleman's (1961) Adolescent Society is the sociological landmark which initiated the comparative study of high school systems. Coleman's study was the catalyst for vigorous debate regarding the viability of an autonomous adolescent society and also was the predecessor of a proliferation of comparative sociological studies of high schools (Campbell and Alexander 1964, McDill, et al. 1966, Sewall 1971). The most provocative high school research in terms of social policy implications was the

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Equality of Educational Opportunity Report by Coleman and Campbell (1966). The sociological orientation has consistently emphasized the role of social class background, high school characteristics and peer influence as the crucial independent variables to explain variations in adolescent achievement and aspiration. A social structural analysis of high schools as formal organizations has been less prominent in the sociological investigations. Feldman and Newcomb (1969) provide an extensive summary of numerous sociological investigations in The Impact of College on Students. Although obviously oriented to college impact, their review highlights numerous issues which are relevant and pertinent to research in secondary education.

Anthropological

While sociologists have been primarily concerned with the structuring of social relationships, the central anthropological task has been the analysis and description of culture. Anthropologists have stressed the importance of the intergenerational transmission of culture as an essential process in the perpetuation and survival of any group. Recently, anthropologists have expressed increased interest in the schools of industrialized societies. Indicators of this interest in contemporary schools include the formation of a Council on Anthropology and Education within the American Anthropological Association and the publication of four collections of readings on Anthropology and Education (Spindler 1963 and 1974, Wax et al. 1971, Ianni and Storey 1973).

The school is viewed by anthropologists as one of the major institutions of socialization. Bullivant (1973) conceptualizes the school as an enculturation matrix--the locus for the transmission of value orientations. Spindler (1963:58) summarizes the anthropological understanding of the school: "Education in this focus is the process of transmitting culture--including skills, knowledge, attitudes and values as well as specific behavioral patterns."

Participant observation and ethnographic methodology are the foundational techniques of anthropological field work. These tools are essential to understanding the nature of modern schools. Wax and Wax (1971) are critical of much "pseudo-empirical" educational research which collects massive amounts of survey data, but neglects actual behavior and experience. Ianni and Ceasar (1972) argue that the techniques of anthropology are most useful

because they don't assume any pre-existing structure and concentrate on observed rather than reported behavior.

Ethnic School Studies

Understandably, the bulk of sociological and anthropological research on secondary schools in the United States has focused on public schools. There is a lacuna of research on ethnic schools, with the exception of studies on Jewish and Catholic schools. The most thorough and comprehensive research on ethnic education is The Education of Catholic Americans by Greeley and Rossi (1966). Their analysis of survey data provided a detailed description of the Catholic school system in the United States, which involves more than six million students. Dougherty (1965) found only slight differences in normative values between public and parochial (Catholic) students in Missouri.

Erickson's (1962) dissertation evaluated the differential effects of public and sectarian schooling, but did not deal with a particular ethnic group. Hostetler (1969) conducted a thorough study of Old Order Amish socialization practices with special attention given to the impact of the ethnic school. Fishman and Nahirny (1964) discuss the role of language maintenance in the ethnic school.

Frequently, ethnic groups are dominated by majority groups within the social structure of American society. The minority stance by necessity is one of defense. The ethnic minority must carefully control its socialization processes to buttress its members against the counter ideology of dominant forces in the society. Siegel (1970) asserts that early socialization is one of the imperative defense mechanisms of any group which intends to survive in a hostile environment. He demonstrates that as environmental stress increases, defensive structuring must concomitantly increase to insure longevity.

Kanter (1972) discusses the same phenomena utilizing the term "commitment mechanisms." Her research on nineteenth century utopian communities highlights the importance of mortification and sacrifice as aspects of the socialization process which induces individual commitment to the group and thus generates group survival. Successful indoctrination and inculcation of the group's ideology and value orientations assures future commitment from the individual. Hostetler and Huntington (1967) and Zablocki (1971) document the necessity of early formalized socialization procedures to achieve these ends among the Hutterites and the Bruderhof, respectively. Thus the

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ethnic school functions as a defensive component in a group's socialization scheme. The school is crucial for the maintenance of the ethnic group's identity and generates commitment to the group.

Wilson (1964) indicates that, for the sect, the public school is the center of alien ideas and is not viewed as a valuable socializing agency. In the midst of a milieu of encroaching secular values the maintenance of its own schools is a direct counteroffensive by an ethno-religious group. As the environment threatens to destroy the ideology of an ethno-religious group, the formation of sectarian schools is imperative (Westhues 1971). The obvious summary is articulated by Greeley and Rossi (1966: vi): "The major manifest reason for the establishment and maintenance of the Catholic school system is the preservation of religious faith." This is not a unique Catholic solution to environmental threat--but one that frequently occurs with any ethno-religious group.

In a study of an Orthodox Jewish boys' school, Bullivant (1973) views the school as a mediator between traditional Jewish values and secular values. The conflicting values create "value dissonance" which the school attempts to control and mediate.

THE POPULATION: SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, is a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area with a population of 320,000. Beginning in 1710 Mennonites and Amish immigrated to the Lancaster area from South Germany and Switzerland. They formed homogeneous agrarian settlements in the Lancaster area. The Amish and Mennonites perpetuated gemeinschaft-type communities characterized by highly cohesive bonds of mechanical solidarity. Both groups conceptualize an area of existence as "world" which is evil and both maintain distinctive cultural symbols and norms as signs of their uniqueness. Unlike their isolationist Amish neighbors, the Mennonites have recently (since 1940) undergone rapid socio-cultural change. Due to the impact of higher education, military conscription, industrialization, suburbanization, and tourism, the Mennonites are experiencing rapid acculturation and assimilation. External manifestations of cultural values such as patterns of dress and behavior have been most vulnerable to change. Consequently, "splinter" groups have broken off from the major Mennonite body in Lancaster County (Lancaster Mennonite Conference), which numbers 16,000 individuals.

As a result of the consolidation of high schools,

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military emphases, sports and social activities, such as dancing, in the public schools, the Lancaster Conference Board of Bishops in 1941 established its own Lancaster Mennonite High School. The literature describing the inception of LMHS frequently asserts that the school's purpose was to "safeguard" the Mennonite youth against the evil vices found in the public schools. Until 1969 LMHS was largely controlled by the Bishop Board via a Bishop as principal of the school and a religious welfare committee consisting entirely of Bishops. During the 1941-69 period the school exerted a distinct traditional influence in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference. The school is presently experiencing rapid socio-cultural change as is its constituency.

Approximately 50 percent (N=500) of the Mennonite adolescents (grade 9-12) attend the ethnic high school, while the remaining 50 percent (N=500) attend 16 public high schools. Each year approximately 100 (N=100) Mennonite students transfer from the public schools to the ethnic school for the completion of their high school education.

It is hypothesized that the three statistical groups of Mennonite students (Ethnic, Transfer, Public) differ in their degree of socialization within the ethnic community. Consequently, degree of ethnic school socialization is the crucial explanatory concept. The ethnic school context provides a pool of teachers and peers who provide support and reinforcement for normative Mennonite beliefs and attitudes. The ethnic group of students has the greatest exposure to the ethnic school and thus the greatest accessibility to reference others (peers and teachers) with similar values and attitudes. In the ethnic school context, students interact with teachers who perpetuate a value system which is consonant with the cultural indoctrination provided by the students' families and churches.

Transfers to the ethnic school come from diverse public school contexts. Public schools vary in the number of Mennonites who attend and in the extent to which teachers are sympathetic to Mennonite cultural values. Upon entering the ethnic school, transfers have accessibility to a new and increased pool of potential reference others. These potential reference others are Mennonites and represent attitudinal variation within the Mennonite cultural system. Transfers can now select reference others who are not only Mennonite, but who are also similar to themselves in terms of specific Mennonite

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attitudes. During the school year transfers will minimize cognitive inconsistency by selecting reference others who are most similar to themselves.

The public school milieu frequently includes alien and contradictory belief systems. The public school represents a foreign social environment which is often hostile to the Mennonite world view. Mennonite students in the public school are in contact with potential reference others who do not espouse normative Mennonite values. Thus, the greatest degree of cognitive inconsistency is anticipated in the public school setting since the Mennonite students are exposed to a variety of attitudes and behaviors which conflict with their own. An inherent assumption of cognitive consistency theory is that inconsistency motivates individuals to modify their cognitive systems in order to regain "fit" or consonance between conflicting elements in the system. Attitudinal change is one mode of cognitive resolution. Thus the greatest degree of attitudinal change is expected with the public students, since they should experience the most cognitive inconsistency. However, the degree of cognitive inconsistency will depend on the extent to which non-Mennonite reference others are perceived to be attractive.

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II. METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The research conducted was interdisciplinary involving methodology from anthropology, sociology, and psychology. It attempted to incorporate a wholistic approach to the study of high school social life, which involved participant observation, interviewing, questionnaire administration, use of key informants, and collecting documents. The research was conducted from June 1972 through August 31, 1974. The research team met approximately every three months either in Lancaster or Elizabethtown to plan and coordinate research activities. The team consisted of John A. Hostetler, project director; Gertrude E. Huntington, anthropologist; and Donald B. Kraybill, sociologist.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Ethnographic Construction

The first task was to gather descriptive information on the school system and its constituent community in order to construct an ethnography. To understand cultural transmission in a context of rapid urbanization necessitated an identification of the component parts of the culture. In particular we were concerned with identifying specific values which were at the core of the Mennonite cultural configuration. The procedures for collecting descriptive material included classroom observation, living in the school dormitories, attendance on field trips and class trips, visiting in the homes and churches of the parents, talking informally to students and faculty, and participating in extracurricular activities, such as faculty orientation conference, student sports, and dramatic productions, etc. Through these activities the anthropologist and sociologist assembled field notes which were categorized according to topic. In addition to constructing an ethnography of the school system through observation, we were also interested in collecting quantitative data which would support our qualitative description of cultural transmission in a changing social context. Before the quantitative measures could be constructed we needed to assemble the ethnographic material from which emerged specific items which were then used in the questionnaire.

A Longitudinal Panel Study

An understanding of the function and role of the school for the ethnic community during rapid social change

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necessitated two measurements on student attitudes, values and demographic characteristics. Transfer students who were leaving the public school system and entering the ethnic school for the first time were of particular interest. We wanted to assess the impact of the ethnic school on the ideology and values of the transfers who attended for the first time. Consequently, the research incorporated a longitudinal panel design, which specified that measurements be taken at the beginning (before) and termination (after) of the high school year. An ideal design would measure incoming freshmen, and four years later measure the same students as terminal seniors. Because of cost and temporal constraints, our design involved a nine-month lapse between the first and second measurements.

The longitudinal panel is a preferable research design since it permits causal inferences with greater confidence and validity. It also is advantageous in that it permits a temporal documentation of the order of social events. The longitudinal design has frequently been advocated and recommended in the literature because of its overall superiority (Festinger and Katz 1953, Selltiz et al. 1959, Zetterberg 1965, and Schmitt 1972).

The research design was a natural experiment which took advantage of naturally occurring independent effects in a field situation. We did not intentionally manipulate independent variables to induce change, but rather took measurements before and after naturally occurring events in order to appraise their impact. Natural control groups provided a baseline against which the experimental group was compared. In terms of the research problem, the naturally occurring independent effect was the fact that some Mennonite students attend the ethnic school. The investigators did not assign (manipulate) certain students to attend the ethnic high school, but measured those who naturally decided to attend, before and after their attendance. Mennonite students who elected to attend the public high schools constituted a natural control group, since they were not exposed to the effect of the ethnic school.

Campbell and Stanley's (1963:34) description of quasi-experimental designs follows the outline of a natural experiment. Quasi-experimental designs attempt to approximate the demands of rigorous experimental specifications in natural setting. In Campbell and Stanley's words, "There are many natural social settings in which the research person can introduce something like

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experimental design into his scheduling of data collection procedures (e.g., the when and to whom of measurement), even though he lacks full control over the scheduling of experimental stimuli."

Campbell and Stanley (1963) present numerous types of experimental and quasi-experimental designs. Our design is congruent with what they have called the Nonequivalent Control Group Design. According to Campbell and Stanley, "one of the most widespread experimental designs in educational research involves an experimental group and a control group both given a pretest and a posttest, but in which the control group and the experimental group do not have pre-experimental sampling equivalence. Rather, the groups constitute naturally assembled collectives such as classrooms, as similar as availability permits, but yet not so similar that one can dispense with the pretest" (1963:47). See Table II-1 for a display and explication of the nonequivalent control group design adapted to an analysis of ethnic high school impact.

Campbell and Stanley (1963) provide an excellent discussion of rival hypotheses which are construed as threats to internal validity in quasi-experimental designs. Internal validity poses the question as to whether or not an apparent experimental difference is actually the result of the experimental treatment (ethnic school attendance) or merely an artifact created by other extraneous variables. They enumerate 12 extraneous threats to internal validity--alternative hypotheses which may offer explanations for the experimental difference other than that produced by the intended stimulus. Some of the 12 rival explanations include history, maturation, testing, instrumentation, statistical regression, differential selection, mortality, etc.

The use of carefully selected control groups effectively eliminates rival explanations if it can be assumed that similar extraneous effects are occurring in both the experimental and control groups. Campbell and Stanley conclude: "We can regard the design as controlling the main effects of history, maturation, testing, and instrumentation, in that the difference of the experimental group between pretest and posttest (if greater than that for the control) cannot be explained by the main effects of these variables" (1963:48).

In the present context, differential selection does pose a formidable rival explanation. Since Mennonite students are not randomly assigned to the ethnic or public schools, it cannot be assumed that they are initially equivalent. The self-selection factor acknowledges that a "certain" type of Mennonite student, from a "unique"

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Table II-1. The Nonequivalent Control Group Design

Comparative groups		Sept. 1973		May 1974
Ethnic	X	O_1	X	O_2
Transfer (Experimental)		O_3	X	O_4
Public (Control)		O_5		O_6
Non-Mennonite				O_7

I. General Definitions

a. Symbols in a horizontal row refer to measurements of the same persons in a "left to right" temporal sequence.
b. Symbols in the same vertical column refer to simultaneous processes.
c. X represents the exposure of a group to an experimental variable or effect.
d. O represents measurements of individuals in designated groups.

II. Specific Definitions

a. Ethnic represents the students attending the ethnic high school 1973-74 who attended the ethnic high school previously.
b. Transfer represents the students who transferred to the ethnic high school in September 1973. The transfers are the experimental group.
c. Public represents Mennonite students who attended public high schools 1973-74. Public is the control group.
d. Non-Mennonite represents non-Mennonite students attending a public high school 1973-74.
e. X represents the effect of attending the ethnic high school.
f. O_1, O_3, O_5 represent pretest (Time One) measures taken September 1973 on the following groups respectively: Ethnic, Transfer, Public.
g. O_2, O_4, O_6 represent posttest (Time Two) measures taken May 1974 on the following groups respectively: Ethnic, Transfer, Public.

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type of family or church background may elect to attend the ethnic school. Thus, for instance, if transfer students in the ethnic high school are found to be higher on normative activities and ethnicity than those in public school, it does not necessarily mean that their higher scores are a function of ethnic school attendance. It could be that students who already were higher on normative activities and ethnicity chose to attend the ethnic school. Thus high normative activities and high ethnicity may be a function, not of the ethnic school, but of antecedent family or church factors. Two options permit an assessment of the viability of the rival differential selection explanation. The pretest on both Public and Transfer groups allowed a comparison to determine the nature and extent of initial differences. The collection of parental data allowed statistical controls of family background variables.

Comparative Statistical Groups

The term "Ethnic" used in reference to statistical categories refers to students who attended the Mennonite high school during the 1973-74 school year but who also attended the Mennonite high school or Mennonite elementary schools in previous years. The unique characteristic of the ethnic group is that these students have attended Mennonite schools more than any of the other student groups. During the 1973-74 school year a total of 345 ethnic students attended the Mennonite high school in all four grades.

The term "Transfer" will designate those students who transferred from the public school to the ethnic high school in the fall of 1973. These were students in all four grades who in the 1972-73 school year attended public high schools. In the fall of 1973 they transferred to the ethnic school for the first time. A total of 102 students constituted the Transfer group.

The term "Public" designates those students who have membership in the Mennonite Church but who attended a public high school during the 1973-74 school year. Approximately 250 junior and senior Mennonite students attend 16 public high schools throughout Lancaster County. Each year local Mennonite congregations report the names, addresses, ages, and schools of their youth to the central Mennonite Conference office. This is a comprehensive listing of all the school-age youth in Lancaster Mennonite Conference. The investigators obtained a copy of this computerized list. A single-stage cluster design (Blalock 1972:23) was employed to sample the public

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school population. A random sample of clusters (public high schools) was taken. Seven public high schools were selected and all the Mennonite junior and senior students in each of these selected high schools were included in the public sample. The rationale for using a cluster sample was based on two advantages: (1) It permitted an analysis of ethnic peer relationships within specific public high schools, and (2) it reduced interviewing costs, since students within clusters lived within close physical proximity. One hundred and two students made up the control group of Mennonite students who attended public high schools.

The term "Miscellaneous" designates students who attended Lancaster Mennonite High School but who did not have membership in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference. A variety of different students attend the Mennonite High School who are not formally members of the Mennonite Church, such as Beachy Amish, Methodists, Presbyterian, and Catholic. Black students, although sometimes members of the Mennonite Church, were included in the Miscellaneous category since they came from such contrasting cultural backgrounds.

The term "Non-Mennonite" is used to designate non-Mennonite students who attend a public high school. A single public high school was selected near the Lancaster area for comparative purposes. This particular school was purposefully selected because it is located geographically close to the Mennonite High School, its students come from a similar socio-economic background, and the Principal and Chairman of the Social Studies Department provided access for the measurement of students. Questionnaires were administered to 170 non-Mennonite students in six sections of social studies classes, which included only juniors and seniors. Social studies are required for the juniors and seniors, thus, providing a randomly selected group of juniors and seniors from the high school. Mennonite students who were part of the group were deleted. The Non-Mennonite group provides a baseline against which the other Mennonite groups can be compared.

One parent of the Ethnic, Transfer, and Public groups was interviewed. However, parents of the Miscellaneous and Non-Mennonite groups were not interviewed. A total of 503 parents of the Ethnic, Transfer, and Public groups participated in the study.

Teachers in the Mennonite high school were measured in the fall of 1973. Thirty-three teachers and four administrators answered the questionnaire.

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INSTRUMENTS UTILIZED

Values

At the heart of the research problem was a concern to understand the transmission of cultural values during rapid social change. Consequently, it was important to locate a reliable measure of values, which could be used to contrast Mennonite value orientation with national data and which would be helpful in identifying differences in value orientation between students, parents, and teachers. The Rokeach (1973) terminal value inventory met the above requirements. The Rokeach value measure consists of asking a respondent to rank in order of importance 18 different value statements. Rokeach has put considerable work into testing the reliability of this particular measure and there is comparative data available. The reliability correlation for the terminal values range from .51 to .88 with an average reliability around .65. Students, parents, and teachers ranked the value statements in the fall of 1973.

Normative Activities

Spindler (1965, 1973 and 1974) developed an Instrumental Activities Inventory (IAI) for research among the Blood Indians in Alberta and for a study of cultural transmission in a German elementary school. In each case the IAI consisted of line drawings depicting an assortment of both traditional and modern instrumental activities. The drawings were culturally specific--drawn by a member of the culture. Respondents were asked to select the activities they preferred and disliked most.

Although the original proposal indicated that the IAI as developed by Spindler would be used to identify value patterns, cognitive orientation, and perception of social change, it soon became evident that the instrument would not be appropriate for Mennonite students. The IAI initially was developed as a research instrument for use among illiterate groups and elementary school students. We discovered that it would be difficult to construct drawings with any degree of reliability, since any small variations in the line drawings would be interpreted differentially by the Mennonite students. Furthermore, since the Mennonite students had acquired writing and reading skills, it appeared that written statements would be more reliable measures of their perceptions of social change rather than line drawings as specified in the IAI procedure.

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Consequently, in the fall of 1972 the sociologist in discussion with students and parents constructed a list of 80 specific instrumental activities which are undergoing change in the Mennonite culture. These were behavioral issues about which students and parents did not have a consensus. For purposes of the research, the behaviors were labelled normative activities. Conceptualy we followed Spindler's model; however, a Likert scale was constructed to measure attitudes toward the normative activities. The pool of 80 items was eventually reduced through field testing to 38 items. These items were then used to construct a typical Likert scale of positive and negative statements in order to measure attitudes toward normative activities. The items were field tested with students and parents in order to determine their face validity. Since the various activities are unique to the Mennonite culture, it was impossible to establish validity with any other similar measures of normative activities. However, a group of ten parents, students, and faculty were used as judges to establish the validity of each item. The normative activities scale was incorporated into both the September 1973 and May 1974 questionnaires. This permits an assessment of change in student perception of normative activities. The normative activities scale was also administered to parents and teachers, which permits comparison between the various groups.

Ethnicity

Central to the research problem was the impact of the Mennonite school system on cognitions and perceptions of the students, especially as they related to their assessment of their ethnic group membership. Was ethnicity related to a differential educational environment, i.e., parochial and public, and to what extent did attendance at the ethnic school facilitate an increase in ethnic commitment? Ethnicity was understood to be an attitude which a group member maintains toward his or her ethnic group. It basically is an affective component of the individual's attitudinal evaluation of his ethnic group affiliation. In essence, an individual has positive or negative feelings regarding his ethnic membership. Individuals can then be ordered according to how positively and negatively they evaluate their ethnic affiliation. To measure Mennonite ethnicity, a pool of unique Mennonite items needed to be constructed, although they could be similar to measures used for other ethnic groups. The terminology needed to be relevant for Mennonites. A list of 20 items was originally collected and through field

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testing this list was reduced to 14 items. The items combine into a Likert scale (ranging from a low of 14 to a high of 70) which measures the degree of positive or negative ethnicity. The ethnicity scale was also field tested with students prior to its administration in September 1973 and May 1974. Teachers and parents also responded to the ethnic items.

Religious Orthodoxy

Although it was evident that numerous external changes were occurring rapidly in the Mennonite culture, we were interested in ascertaining whether or not basic theological beliefs were stable or whether they were also being transformed. Fifteen statements to measure orthodox religious beliefs were constructed to form a Likert scale. Some of the statements were similar to items used by Kauffman and Harder (1972) in a nationwide study of five Mennonite denominations. Other questions were similar to items used by Glock and Stark (1968). Additional items were unique and constructed for the purposes of this research. The items were field tested with students and parents in order to determine their face validity. The 15 items combine to form a Likert scale (with a potential range from a low of 15 points to a high of 74 points), which indicates the degree of religious orthodoxy. The items include basic tenets of the Judeo-Christian tradition. The orthodoxy scale was administered to students in September 1973 and May 1974 and also to parents, teachers, and non-Mennonite students in the public schools.

Social Networks

As indicated in the proposal we were interested in understanding the role and function of informal networks in the transmission of culture. Data on informal social networks was collected through participant observation and in the questionnaires. Rossi (1966) developed a technique to measure an individual's interpersonal environment (IE). The IE has two distinguishing features: it focuses on individuals within social networks rather than on groups and a criterion of face-to-face interaction is used as a boundary setting device. The present research incorporated a variation of the Rossi procedure to ascertain information on informal reference networks. Students were asked to "list the names of at least four other students at your school whose ideas and opinions are important to you. These might include persons with whom you eat lunch, hang around, ride to school, or have classes."

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In order to discover which teachers were most salient in student social networks, each student was instructed to "list the names of at least three faculty members at your school whose ideas and opinions are important to you. These might include teachers with whom you have classes or other faculty members you know such as dorm supervisors, or administrators." In addition to naming their friends, parents, and teachers, students provided information on degree of attraction, belief similarity, perceived influence, hours together, courses together, extracurricular activities, sex, grade, religion, and ethnic membership.

Personality Types

To measure differences in personality types the Myers - Briggs Type Indicator was used. The Indicator aims to ascertain people's basic preference in regard to perception and judgment. In terms of the theory, a person may reasonably be expected to develop most skill with the processes he prefers to use and in the areas where he prefers to use them. The Indicator contains indices for determining each of four basic preferences that presumably structure the individual's personality. They are as follows:

Index	Preference as between	Affects individual's choice as to
EI	Extraversion or Introversion	Whether to direct perception and judgment upon environment or world of ideas
SN	Sensing or Intuition	Which of these two kinds of perception to rely on
TF	Thinking or Feeling	Which of these two kinds of judgment to rely on
JP	Judgment or Perception	Whether to use judging or perceptive attitude for dealing with environment

The items in the test offer "forced" choices involving the preferences at issue. The lettered combinations are designed to point one way or the other; they are not scales designed to measure traits. For example, a person with more points for E than for I is classed as extravert and is said to have E scores. A person with more points for

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I than E is classed as introvert. The EI score is based on the difference between the points for E and the points for I, and a person may have either an E score or an I score, but not both. The quantitative scores suggest the extent to which a person is either E or I. The letter is considered the most important part of the score, indicating which of the opposite sides of his personality dimension the person prefers to use, and presumably has developed or can develop to a higher degree.

E suggests, for instance, that the person enjoys extraverting more than he enjoys introverting, has therefore given his extravert side considerably more practice, is likely to be better at activities involving extraversion, and will probably find a vocation requiring extraversion more satisfying as a life work. The letters from all four scores (above) each with corresponding implications, make up the type formula, as ENFP which describes the type. The four preferences as described in the test manual are as follows:

"The EI index is designed to relfect whether the person is an extravert or an introvert in the sense intended by Jung, who coined the terms. The extravert is oriented primarily to the outer world, and tends to focus his perception and judgment upon people and things. The introvert is oriented primarily to the inner world postulated in Jungian theory, and thus tends to focus his perception and judgment upon concepts and ideas.

"The SN index is designed to reflect the person's preferences as between two opposite ways of perceiving, i.e., whether he relies primarily on the familiar process of sensing by which he is made aware of things directly through one or another of his five senses, or primarily on the less obvious process of intuition, which is understood as indirect perception by way of the unconscious, with the emphasis on ideas or associations which the unconscious tacks on to the outside things perceived.

"The TF index is designed to reflect the person's preferences as between two opposite ways of judging, i.e., whether he relies primarily upon thinking, which discriminates impersonally between true and false, or primarily upon feeling, which discriminates between valued and not-valued.

"The JP index is designed to reflect whether the person relies primarily upon a judging process or upon a perceptive process in his dealings with the outer world, that is, in the extraverted part of his life" (Myers 1962: 1-2).

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Analysis of Learning Potential

Beginning in the spring of 1973 the guidance counselor at the Lancaster Mennonite High School supervised the administration of Analysis of Learning Potential tests to the junior class. This was repeated with the junior class in 1974. We had access to these scores for the present junior and senior class, 1973-74, for comparison with national norms.

The Analysis of Learning Potential (ALP) was developed to provide for the assessment of school learning abilities of pupils found in United States schools. The subtests appearing in each of the various batteries were selected for the final test on the basis of their relationship to selected school achievement criteria. The subtests within each battery have demonstrated their ability to predict specific criteria of scholastic success while at the same time they remain relatively free from assessing those behaviors specifically taught in school.

"The tests employed do assess learned abilities gained from a number of somewhat diffuse sources whose exact nature cannot be clearly specified. Pupils who are poorly motivated or who have not had the opportunity to learn the broad, general types of behaviors sampled by the tests should have these limiting factors taken into consideration. . . . It must be emphasized that the ALP series was not developed within a specific theoretical framework concerning the nature of mental ability or intelligence. Thus, the tests were designed to measure neither a single general ability factor nor to provide factorially pure measures of somewhat discrete mental functions. Tests appearing in each battery were developed solely from the standpoint of their contribution to the prediction of academic success" (Prescott 1970:5).

A description of the nine subtests from which a general composite standardized score is derived is provided in Appendix D. "National norms for the series are based upon the testing of nearly 165,000 pupils in approximately 75 school systems drawn from 44 states. Testing was conducted during the fall and winter of 1967-68. Selection of school systems for the national standardization program was based upon a stratified probability sampling technique designed to yield within stated limits a representative sample of the national school population enrolled in grades one through 12. Size of school system and a composite socio-economic index were the two major variables used in the stratification of school systems prior to their selection" (Prescott 1970:7).

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Self-Esteem

A Likert type scale consisting of ten questions developed by Rosenberg (1965) was utilized to measure self-esteem. There are five positive and five negative items which measure a respondent's self-attitudes. High self-esteem as reflected in the scale items "expresses the feeling that one is 'good enough.' The individual simply feels that he is a person of worth; he respects himself for what he is, but does not stand in awe of himself, nor does he expect others to stand in awe of him. He does not necessarily consider himself superior to others. . . . When we speak of high self-esteem, then, we shall simply mean that the individual respects himself, considers himself worthy; he does not necessarily consider himself better than others, but he definitely does not consider himself worse. . . . Low self-esteem, on the other hand, implies self-rejection, self-dissatisfaction, self-contempt. The individual lacks respect for the self he observes. The self-picture is disagreeable, and he wishes it were otherwise" (Rosenberg 1965:31).

The items can be combined into a Guttman type scale which Rosenberg (1965:17) reports has a reproducibility of 92 percent and a scalibility of 72 percent. For the purposes of this study the items were summed in typical Likert fashion to yield a single score for each subject.

Patterns of Cognition

Numerous devices were used to elicit cognitive structures and perceptions of identity and social change. The Kuhn and McPartland (1954) Twenty Statement Test (TST) was used to measure perceptions of self-role identity. The TST was modified to include only ten blanks. The subject was asked to answer the question, "Who am I?" followed by ten blank spaces. In addition to the TST, five open-ended questions were constructed to elicit the subject's perception of social change and ethnic identity. They included:

a. For me being a Mennonite means . . .

b. When you think of the world, what things do you think of?

c. In general, how would you describe a Mennonite? Just list whatever words you think of.

d. List what you think are some of the "good" changes taking place in the Mennonite Church.

e. List some of the "bad" changes which are taking place in the Mennonite Church.

In addition to these questionnaire items, documents such as class songs, yearbooks, and school newspapers, were helpful in analyzing changing cognition patterns.

Unobtrusive Measures

In addition to the specific questionnaire items, various unobtrusive measures were collected which richly aided the analysis of cultural transmission in the school. Some of the measures included class songs, yearbooks, school newspapers, student papers written for specific classes, posters, written student responses to chapel services, taped chapel services, student opinions on the student opinion board, minutes from faculty meetings, board of trustees, staff bulletins, and the monthly report by the school administration to parents. These documents were extremely helpful in understanding the social organization of the school and, particularly, value transmission within the school system.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Field Work Chronology

Summer 1972:	Interviews with school board members
	Collection of historical documents related to the origin of the high school
Fall 1972:	Construction of tentative questionnaire items to measure normative activities, ethnicity, and orthodoxy
	Get-acquainted visits to the school by the sociologist and anthropologist
Spring 1973:	Weekly visits to the school by the sociologist
	On-sight observation in school by the anthropologist
	Taping daily chapel services
	Field testing of instruments with sociology students in the high school each week
Summer 1973:	Field testing instruments with faculty and parents
	Collection of school documents, i.e., newspapers, yearbooks, songs
	Construction of final questionnaire items including attitude scales, demographic and social change items
	Typing and printing final version of the questionnaire
	Selection of Mennonite student sample in public schools
	Analysis of school documents
Fall 1973:	Administration of questionnaire to students in the Mennonite school
	Administration of questionnaire to Mennonite students in public schools
	Administration of questionnaire to parents
	Administration of questionnaire to teachers
	Participant observation by the anthropologist in the school

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Fall 1973: (continued)	Weekly visits to the school by the sociologist to interview key informants
	Taping daily chapel services
	Collection of student documents in the school, i.e., student papers, chapel responses, opinion board notes, minutes of committees, etc.
Spring 1974:	Taping daily chapel services
	Coding September questionnaire data
	Keypunching September questionnaire data on IBM cards
	Weekly visits to school by the sociologist
	Participant observation in the school by the anthropologist
	Administration of Myers-Briggs Personality Inventory to Mennonite students in the Mennonite school
	Administration of final questionnaire to Mennonite students in the Mennonite school
	Administration of final questionnaire to Mennonite students in public schools
	Administration of selected questionnaire items to non-Mennonite students in a public school
Summer 1974:	Coding and keypunching data collected in May 1974
	Collecting academic and citizenship grades at the Mennonite High School
	Collecting learning potential scores at the Mennonite High School
	Analysis of the September and May questionnaire data
	Organizing and writing the preliminary final report

Participant Observation (Anthropologist)

Before making my first trip to the school I had conferences with the other two investigators who were both familiar with the school and I spent several days in the library at Goshen College in Indiana. The library had

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some material on the founding of Lancaster Mennonite High School and also a collection of most of the publications from the school. I reviewed the Annual Bulletins, the Mill Streams, the Laurel Wreaths, and miscellaneous publications. As a non-Mennonite I also familiarized myself with Mennonite attitudes and philosophies of education and examined the literature on other Mennonite high schools. During the summer I made a preliminary trip to the area, became familiar with the region and visited one of the Mennonite elementary schools, many of whose students go on to Lancaster Mennonite High School.

In November of 1972 I spent my first week living in the girls' dormitory. Monday I met the administration and members of the faculty, learned my way around and settled in. Tuesday morning at the 7:50 a.m. faculty prayer circle I was introduced and mentioned in the prayer. At chapel I sat on the stage and was introduced to the whole school and graciously welcomed. That day I followed the class schedule of a senior, including the briefing on how to behave on the senior trip to Washington. Wednesday I followed the schedule of a junior, Thursday of a sophomore, and Friday I went to teachers whose classes I had not yet attended, including some freshman classes, and specific courses I was especially interested in observing. During the noon hour, when student activities meet, I went to these. In one class I lectured, in many classes I was asked to say a few words or was asked specific questions. During this first visit I always tried to ask each teacher in advance if I might visit a specific class so he or she would know when to expect me. After school I talked to faculty members who were still around, spent time with the directors of the dormitory and dorm boys and girls. I participated in the evening activities of the dormitory students and had all my meals except one in the school cafeteria. Wednesday evening I ate with two student teachers at the home of the only non-Mennonite teacher on the faculty. Thursday evening I went to the Junior Class get-acquainted social. And Friday I left when the students vacated the dormitory.

In the spring I spent the weekend near the school, becoming more at home with its surroundings and Sunday evening I attended a concert in a local congregation given by the Choraleers, a group led by the music teacher and entirely composed of seniors and recent graduates of Lancaster Mennonite High School. March 5-9, 1973, was Christian Growth Week and I was especially eager to be on campus during this period for there is a Commitment Week each fall and Christian Growth Week each spring, and I wanted to be there to observe the effect of such an

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emphasis. On this trip I selected classes to attend from which I felt I could learn the most about value transmission, and spent time talking to those faculty members whom I felt would be most helpful in this area. I also had conferences with members of the administration and one lunch I ate with the wife of one of the men in the development office. Most lunches I ate with the faculty, about half the breakfasts I missed, and supper I ate with the students or the staff who lived in the dormitory. In the evenings I again participated in the dormitory programs and with the dormitory staff in their informal gatherings and their prayer circle. During the rest of the time I talked informally to students, I attended senior parents night, observing the program and mingling with the parents and their children for refreshments.

In the early summer (1973) I returned to Lancaster and had interviews with several members of the administration and faculty. I also visited staff members and students "on the job" as they worked in tourist related summer employment. This gave me a good opportunity to see how they functioned in the public sphere, having already observed them in the private sector.

In the fall of 1973 I returned at a time I could attend a Board of Trustees Executive Committee meeting and a Parent-Teacher Fellowship meeting. I left campus for dinner with the new assistant principal and business manager. The director of the boys' dormitory was to join us, but warm night pranks kept him on duty. I also left the campus to attend the senior prayer meeting which was composed exclusively of members of the senior class, but it was not led by an LMHS staff member. It met in a student's home since it was not sponsored by the school. I attended classes that were recommended to me by the students and those taught by new teachers whom I had not observed before. Except for the night I went to the prayer meeting, I participated in the evening dormitory activities.

On February 4, 1974, I returned to attend the faculty meeting and present the Myers-Briggs Indicator to the faculty so they could take it before it was given to the students. Most of Tuesday I spent in the faculty lounge scoring the inventories and going over the results with the faculty. It was a good opportunity legitimately to spend a full day in the faculty lounge.

In May 1974 I returned for my last week in the dormitory, filling in gaps and checking observations. Then, during the summer of 1974 I returned to the area twice for conferences, interviews and to gather specific information.

With each visit, and especially on the first two stays in the dormitory I collected class outlines, homework sheets, student papers, themes, exams and posters students had made. Between visits I received staff bulletins, the student paper and the alumni paper, several individuals' diaries, tapes of chapel talks, and corresponded with various people.

The group within the school with which I had the least contact were the "hards," the boys who lived off campus and were interested in sports and in cars. I have no real interest in sports or cars and this was a limitation. Obviously I couldn't spend time in the boys' lavatories, an important locus of action. I did not have enough time to spend with people like the cooks and the maintenance men. Those individuals I learned to know best were the students and staff that lived on the campus during the week, although some of the other staff and students I knew fairly well. I did not study social interaction during the weekend but concentrated on school related and weekday behavior.

My emotional response to the school, its administration, faculty, and students was very positive. I like the people immensely in spite of having a different world view and political orientation. I was put off by the emphasis on law and order, amazed by the docility of students and teachers, uncomfortable with the rigidity of "rightness" and "wrongness." I realized I was being lulled by a genuine kindness and a real concern that sometimes made it difficult to remain completely objective. I was acutely aware of the coercive nature of public prayer. As I returned for visits my name was mentioned less frequently in prayer meetings. Throughout the study I used my first name only--everyone, staff and students alike called me "Trudy," for I was eager not to be an authority figure in any way. I tried to function as a friendly, interested visitor, for though sympathetic, I was always a non-Mennonite, an outsider. Members of the school community were most generous, helpful, open and cooperative. I am most appreciative of their patient efforts in helping me to see the role they envision for their high school.

Questionnaire Administration

Questionnaires were administered in the Mennonite High School to Ethnic, Transfer, and Miscellaneous students during the second week of September 1973. The instrument was self-administered to classroom groups under the supervision of teachers. The parents of Ethnic and

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Transfer students completed the self-admiistered parental form of the questionnaire at a parent-teachers meeting. Those parents not attending the meeting were followed up and given another opportunity to complete the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was administered to Public students and their parents during September 1973 in their homes by trained field workers.

Teachers in the Mennonite school completed the questionnaire during a faculty meeting in October 1973.

The final form of the questionnaire was administered during the second week of May 1974 to the Ethnic, Transfer, Public, Miscellaneous, and Non-Mennonite groups in classroom settings in their respective schools.

Participation Rates

Table II-2 displays the relative size and participation rates of the parent and student groups. All of the

Table II-2. Participation Rates by Statistical Groups

	Student				Parent		
Groups	Initial Number	Refusal	Drop out	Final Number	Initial Number	Refusal	Final Number
Ethnic	350	0 (0)[1]	5(1)	345	345	31 (9)	314
Transfer	105	0 (0)	3(3)	102	102	11 (11)	91
Public	113	9 (8)	2(2)	102	111	13 (12)	98
Miscellaneous	61	0 (0)	4(7)	57	NM[2]	NM	NM
Non-Mennonite	170	0 (0)	0(0)	170	NM	NM	NM
Total N =	799	9	14	776	558	55	503

[1]Percentage in parentheses

[2]NM = not measured

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teachers participated in providing information on the questionnaire. Table II-2 summarizes the initial number of subjects in each group, the drop-out and the refusal rate, which affected the final number in each group. We received complete cooperation from all of the Ethnic, Transfer, Public, and Miscellaneous students, who attended the Mennonite High School. However eight percent of the Public students did not participate, primarily because their parents would not permit them.

Nine percent of the Ethnic parents did not participate; 11 percent of the Transfer parents refused; and 12 percent of the Public parents did not participate. Participation in all of these instances means that the individual completed the entire questionnaire or the major part of it. In some cases subjects did not answer all of the questions; consequently, the number of respondents in each group varies, depending on the particular question. The actual number of respondents for each question is usually indicated in the particular table.

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III. ETHNOHISTORY

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND RELEVANT TO THE PROBLEM

History and Beliefs

The Mennonites trace their origin to two regions in Europe, to Switzerland in 1525, and to the Netherlands beginning in 1533. All descendants of the Mennonites are either Swiss or Dutch in origin. Since their beginning the Swiss have spread into Alsace and South Germany (smaller groups went to Volhynia and Galicia) but most of their numbers immigrated to North America. The founding of Swiss Anabaptism cannot be attributed to one or two persons. Conrad Grebel, for some time a promising young leader in the Zwinglian movement, became an outstanding spokesman for the views of the Swiss Brethren (Bender 1950). Others expressing similar views were Felix Manz, George Blaurock, Michael Sattler, and Pilgram Marpeck. The name "Mennonite," coming from Menno Simons, the outstanding leader of Dutch Anabaptism, was later generally used to include the Swiss adherents of Anabaptism.

By the end of the sixteenth century only small groups of Anabaptists survived in Switzerland and Central Europe. Until toleration was granted in 1810 the Swiss Brethren were subject to imprisonment, torture, confiscation of property, and the denial of religious liberty including the right of free assembly, to marry, baptize, to bury, and to teach and publish. At various times the authorities took the necessary steps to deport and exile these nonconformists. Following years of suppression the Mennonite groups survived in rural regions in Europe. They learned how to survive by means of intensive agriculture; and by the application of thrift, hard labor, and mutual aid a mode of life was developed which was later sought by emperors and princes for developing agricultural lands. The Mennonites who at the outset were among the most radical of the nonconformists became Die Stillen im Lande (the quiet people of the land), and settled into an agrarian conservative cultural island. To this day, quiet passivity is more characteristic of Mennonite communities than active participation in the life of the nation or in issues outside of the community.

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Although several Dutch Mennonite merchants arrived in New Amsterdam (New York) as early as 1644, the first permanent settlement in America was at Germantown (in Philadelphia) in 1683 when 35 Mennonites from Crefeld, Germany, arrived with a group of Quaker immigrants. Palatine and Swiss Mennonite immigrants began to cross the ocean in 1707, locating in Eastern Pennsylvania, and continued to arrive up to the French and Indian War in 1754. Estimates of from three to five thousand reached America before the Revolutionary War. Large groups of Mennonites came to the area of present-day Lancaster County from 1710 to 1756. The Mennonites (as well as other Pennsylvania German-speaking groups) became strongly entrenched as farmers in the county, and since their settlement have played a major role in the agricultural and industrial development of the area.

Today in Lancaster County there are several Mennonite groups; the largest is that affiliation represented by the Lancaster Mennonite Conference (organized in 1775) numbering 16,260 baptized members with 206 congregations. This is the constituency operating the Lancaster Mennonite High School, the subject of our study. In addition, the county has about 10,000 Old Order Amish persons, an estimated 5,000 Old Order Mennonites, and several smaller groups including the Beachy Amish Mennonite Church, Brethren in Christ, General Conference Mennonite, and Reformed Mennonite. A conservative segment of the Lancaster Conference Mennonites calling themselves Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Church, numbers 1,871 members and 36 congregations.

The Lancaster Mennonite Conference supports several institutions in addition to a number of elementary schools. They are Lancaster Mennonite School (1942), two homes for the aged (Mennonite Home, Lancaster, 1903; Welsh Mountain Samaritan Home, New Holland, 1898); the Mennonite Children's Home at Millersville (1911); Philhaven Hospital, Lebanon (1952), a psychiatric center. The headquarters of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference and its mission board, Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions, is located at Salunga, Pennsylvania. The Mennonite Central Committee, a world-wide relief and service agency has operated at Akron, Pennsylvania, since 1937.

The Mennonites developed a form of Christianity which discarded the sacerdotal system and claimed no authority outside the Bible and enlightened conscience. They limited baptism to the believer (adults only) and emphasized those teachings on the sanctity of human life

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and the integrity of a man's word. They wanted no centralized hierarchy. "Diener" (ministers or servants) were chosen by the members from the laity to admonish, and "elders" were designated to baptize and administer the Lord's Supper. They denied the "Christian" character of the established medieval church, but sought to respect and obey all lawful requirements of the civil authorities when conscience permitted. Their personal conduct, firmly pledged to a primitive Christian discipline for the pursuit of holiness in a society "apart from the world" was praised even by their enemies as superior to their own (Rembert 1899:564). Both by Protestants and Catholics their beliefs on the nature of Christianity were regarded as subversive and intolerable. The persecutions which followed made martyrs of thousands of simple people who were attempting to cultivate a mode of religious life apart from the existing social and religious institutions of the time (van Bragt 1748).

The distinguishing beliefs of the Mennonites (Swiss Brethren) were these: (1) Insistence upon personal conversion and regeneration of the person through supernatural forces, faith in Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit, followed by (2) Demands for personal conduct set apart (separated) from everything worldly and sinful; (3) A commitment to discipleship (Nachfolge Christi) of true brotherly love by means of sharing spiritual and material things through a revengeless life as taught by Christ (the Word of God); and (4) Association with a new community (church) of the regenerated believers called out from the "degenerate" church and which practices certain literal teachings of the New Testament. (The formal beliefs appeared in two early statements of faith: "The Schleitheim Confession" of 1527, and "The Dortrecht Confession" of 1632.)

In a practical way, the individual is required to believe in one God as creator, the fall of man, the restoration of man's spiritual life through faith in the atonement of Christ, future life, heaven and hell; the practice of love and nonresistance to one's enemies, nonswearing of oaths, nonconformity to all carnal sins and evil associations, nonparticipation in the affairs of state, personal witnessing and evangelism to the outside degenerate world, and the observance of adult baptism, the Lord's Supper (symbolic), washing of the saints' feet, the holy kiss, marriage only within the church group, assisting the poor, and the excommunication and shunning of obdurate members. These, quite briefly, were the early teachings of the Swiss Brethren. Though

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the formal or stated beliefs have remained relatively unchanged, some of the practices have not. (The Lancaster Conference Mennonite practice excommunication, but shunning is limited to exclusion from taking communion.)

Of all the beliefs emphasized by the Anabaptist-Mennonites, two dominant cultural themes are especially relevant for the analysis of educational problems among modern Mennonites. They are (1) the belief in separation from the world (also called nonconformity), and (2) the practice of a brotherhood church (Gemeinschaft in contrast to ecclesia). We shall examine the social origins and role of these dominant values in the Mennonite ethos.

Separation from the World

Historians of the Reformation period have pointed out that separatism from the world was a dominant theme in all phases of Anabaptism (Littell, Origins of, 1952: 90). The first common statement of faith made by the Anabaptists, the Schleitheim statement of Brotherly Union of 1527 (Yoder 1973:37-38) includes among its seven articles one on separation. It was the hope of the early Swiss Anabaptists to become a renewal movement within the established church. Already by 1527 it had become clear to them that if they were to live according to their convictions it would be necessary for them to form a fellowship that would be independent from the church. Hence a group of their leaders met at Schleitheim in 1527 and drew up a statement of belief which all of them could endorse. It was called "Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God Concerning Seven Articles." This was not a complete statement of faith. It paid particular attention to those beliefs differing from that of the state churches.

For the Anabaptists separation from "the world" ipso facto involved separation from the established church, for the established Church included all of the citizens within a given territory, and hence the "world." Article IV of the statement of Brotherly Union makes this clear:

"IV. We have been united concerning the separation that shall take place from the evil and the wickedness which the devil has planted in the world, simply in this; that we have no fellowship with them, and do not

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run with them in the confusion of their abominations. . . . Now there is nothing else in the world and all creation than good and evil, believing and unbelieving, darkness and light, the world and those who are [come] out of the world, God's temple and idols, Christ and Belial, and none will have part with the other.

"To us, then, the commandment of the Lord is also obvious, whereby He orders us to be and to become separated from the evil one, and thus He will be our God and we shall be His sons and daughters. . . .

"From all this we should learn that everything which has not been united with our God in Christ is nothing but an abomination which we should shun. By this are meant all popish and repopish works and idolatry, gatherings, church attendance, winehouses and commitments of unbelief, and other things of the kind, which the world regards highly, and yet which are carnal or flatly counter to the command of God, after the pattern of all the iniquity which is in the world. From all this we shall be separated and have no part with such, for they are nothing but abominations which cause us to be hated before our Christ Jesus, who was freed from the servitude of the flesh and fitted us for the service of God and the Spirit whom he has given us" (Yoder 1973:37-38).

The chasm which separates the true followers of Christ from the world is a strong theme running through all of the writings of Menno Simons (c. 1496-1561), the Dutch Anabaptist leader. The Lancaster County Mennonites had ready access to at least two of his writings from an early time. The Foundation of Christian Doctrine, 1539, was printed in German at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1794, and circulated widely among the Mennonites of Eastern Pennsylvania. Four editions of the book were printed before 1871 (Wenger, ed. 1956:104). In 1712 the Dutch Mennonites published a small booklet in English containing the Dortrecht Confession of Faith of 1632, some historical facts, and an article from the pen of Menno Simons, the first reply of his "Reply to False Accusations, 1552" (Wenger, ed. 1956:542). In 1725 the American Mennonites requested copies of this booklet. They endorsed it with the following statement: "We the hereunder written Servants of the Word of God, and Elders in the Congregation of the People called Mennonists, in the Province of Pennsylvania, do acknowledge, and herewith make known, That we do own the afore-going Confession, Appendix, and Menno's Excusation, to be according

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to our Opinion: and also, have took the same to be wholly ours. . ." (Wenger, ed. 1956:542).

The teaching of separation from the world was also expressed by the Anabaptists in the conceptual framework of the "two kingdoms." Menno Simons used this imagery, as did other Anabaptists. According to this thought two kingdoms exist side by side in the world: the spiritual kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of this world. The Mennonite conception from the beginning was that the followers of Christ belong to his kingdom, which is the Kingdom of Peace, and is a spiritual kingdom (Wenger, ed. 1956:554). This kingdom exists alongside the kingdom of the world. The scriptures teach two opposing princes, and two opposing kingdoms. The two kingdoms exist simultaneously, and there must be a distinction and a separation between them. The contrasts in the two kingdoms, and their separation, is brought out in an Anabaptist document of 1570 written by Hans Schnell:

"There are two different kingdoms on earth--namely, the kingdom of this world and the peaceful kingdom of Christ. These two kingdoms cannot share or have communion with each other.

"The people in the kingdom of this world are born of the flesh, and are earthly and carnal minded. The people in the kingdom of Christ are reborn of the Holy Spirit, live according to the Spirit, and are spiritually minded.

"The people in the kingdom of this world are equipped for fighting with carnal weapons--spear, sword, armor, guns, and powder. The people in Christ's kingdom are equipped with spiritual weapons--the armor of God, the shield of faith, and the sword of the Spirit to fight against the devil, the world, and their own flesh, together with all that arises against God and his Word.

"The people in the kingdom of this world fight for a perishable crown and earthly kingdom. The people in Christ's kingdom fight for an imperishable crown and an eternal kingdom.

"Christ made these two kingdoms at variance with each other and separated. There will therefore be no peace between them. They will fight against each other to the end of the world, and these two kingdoms cannot be made equal or mingled with each other.

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"Also neither can have part or communion with the other. But he who wants to make them alike or intermingle them is acting like the old serpent which in the beginning mixed lies with God's Word" (Gross, unpublished).

This is clearly different from Luther's idea of two kingdoms, in which the Christian simultaneously belongs to both kingdoms. The Anabaptist idea is that the two kingdoms are set against each other. To love the one is to hate the other. Menno Simons said that the true followers of Christ constitute his kingdom. Furthermore, Christ is ruler here and now, in this present world: "These regenerate people have a spiritual king over them who rules them with His Holy Spirit and His Word" (Wenger, ed. 1956:94). In this view the kingdom of Christ exists within the disciplined, gathered community, organized according to the rule of Christ and his law.

The late historian Robert Friedmann held this teaching of the two kingdoms to be the theological core of Anabaptist teaching (Friedmann 1973:38). The teaching itself, however, is not exclusively Anabaptist. Certain of the sects which preceded Anabaptism had embraced the idea of two kingdoms, and the opposition of the kingdom of God and the world is an idea that finds common expression in the sect-type (Troeltsch 1960:40).

The imagery of the kingdom at times faded very much into the background in the course of historical development, but the idea of the church as a distinct entity, separate from the "world" was continuous. The church was thought of as set apart as the "people of God," or as a "chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people." At times this emphasis seemed to become an end in itself.

In America, where there was no established or state church, separation from the world continued to be a dominant pattern of Mennonite life. Along with the teaching of separation from the world "nonconformity" was a major doctrine taught by the brotherhood. Nonconformity was based upon the Scripture passage (Romans 12:1,2) in which Paul writes: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God." Other key passages used are (I John 1:15,16) "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man

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love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world," and (I Peter 2:11) "Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul."

Though not unique to the Mennonites, the concept of nonconformity has been carried out intensely among them from their origins. As among early Christians, the Mennonites have sought to apply Christian ethical principles to everyday life. As with various pietistic movements including the Moravians, and the Wesleyan movement and its modern descendants, their solution to the problem of relating to society around them has brought them into serious conflict or sharp focus. For example, one application of the principle of nonconformity to the world is nonresistance (pacifism). In this respect the Mennonites were widely known as conscientious objectors in war, and of all the denominations having objectors in World War II, the highest proportion were Mennonite (Gingerich 1949:452).

The concept of nonconformity is the subject of books and articles in the Mennonite press. Two major publications are: Guy Hershberger, War, Peace, and Nonresistance (1944; 3rd revision 1969), and John C. Wenger, Separated Unto God (1951). As a dominant culture theme, nonconformity also receives impetus from a number of related ideas. One is the manner in which the Mennonites revere the teachings of the Bible. That the Bible teaches and requires holiness and purity of life is given more than passing emphasis. Obedience to the teachings of Christ and "following after Him," and "taking up the cross," particularly the cross of suffering is given emphatic interpretation. Holiness generally means a "clean" life morally, and does not connote "holiness" in the pentecostal tradition, i.e., the fire of baptism, sanctification, and speaking in tongues. Closely associated with nonconformity is the idea of "pilgrims and strangers" on earth, with "no abiding city here" but a "citizenship in heaven." This complex of ideas places value on the individual's relationship to God, emphasis on future life with God in a world to come, but in practice may turn into an otherworldly emphasis of indifference to or rejection of many cultural values in their social environment.

The concept of a people of God, separate from other people and from the world, has often been explicitly expressed in Mennonite literature. This quality gives rise to the ethnic community and what appears to others

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as exclusiveness. As a major idea in the Old Testament, it is understood in the New Testament to mean the kingdom of Christ. (John 10: "I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep. My sheep hear my voice." Luke 12: "Fear now, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." II Corinthians 6: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers." I Peter 2: "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people.") Finally, one of the most emphasized teachings in respect to a pure church among Mennonites is found in Ephesians 5:27: ". . . a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; . . . holy and without blemish."

The maintenance of the doctrine of separation from the world among Mennonites has been perpetuated largely by tradition, by indoctrination, by congregational discipline, and by conference regulations. In the most traditional congregations, where there is strong social solidarity, nonconformity is taken for granted as a way of life. In other congregations and settlements, especially where accommodation or outside influences have affected the life of the people, there have been deliberate teaching and more specific regulations of the conduct of members. Church schools have been introduced specifically to stop the inroads of worldly conformity and to teach the doctrine of nonconformity. All of these methods have been used with varying degrees of success. The practice of nonconformity, and its associated problems, has been the source of many divisions in Mennonite communities, not only today in Lancaster County, but throughout their history.

Brotherhood Church

At the outset of Anabaptism, one of its most striking features was the concept of the church. For them, the church was not an inclusive institution (Volkskirch) of the masses into which all citizens are in effect born and are to be formally incorporated by universal baptism, remaining under its influence until death. The church was to be a fellowship (Gemeinde), a voluntary and exclusive fellowship of truly converted believers in Christ, committed to follow the ethical teachings of Jesus in "full obedience." As such, it was to be completely separate from the state. There was to be freedom of conscience, no use of force or compulsion by the state or church. Members of the church in turn are not to hold offices in the government.

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"For the great masses of nominal Christians the relation between Christian brethren meant no more than a general social relation required. The Anabaptists were especially offended by this, and taught that in right living Christians were accountable for each other. . . .

"Perfect Christian fraternity demanded submission of selfish interests to the needs of the community. Personal display and aggrandizement were to be condemned strongly wherever they appeared, and all such tendencies among Christians were to be vigorously curtailed by the spiritual government" (Littell 1952:72).

Brotherhood (Gemeinde or fraternity) permeated the life of the Mennonite community in Europe and in America in multiple ways. Its cultural manifestations were expressed in the search for equality, in lay leadership patterns, in church architecture, in forms of worship, discipline, and in mutual aid in time of disaster. Culture, as used here, is the total way of life of the community, and includes prescribed ways of behaving, norms of conduct, values, beliefs, and behavioral patterns, together with uniformities based on these categories.

The traditional Mennonite community in many ways closely resembled the sectarian type as described by Ernst Troeltsch (1960:330 ff; 703 ff). Accordingly the sect is a small group which aspires after inward perfection, emphasizing the law of Christ and his kingdom. It takes the Sermon on the Mount as its ideal, refusing to go to law or take an oath. Its asceticism is expressed in the principle of detachment from the world, and it aims at direct personal fellowship between the members of the group:

"In general, the following are their characteristic features: lay Christianity, personal achievement in ethics and in religion, the radical fellowship of love, religious equality and brotherly love, indifference toward the authority of the State and the ruling classes, dislike of the technical law and of the oath, the separation of the religious life from the economic struggle by means of the ideal of poverty and frugality, or occasionally in a charity which becomes communism, the directness of the personal religious relationship, criticism of official spiritual guides and theologians, the appeal to the New Testament and to the Primitive Church. . . . The sect . . . appeals to the ever new common performance of

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the moral demands, which, at bottom, are founded upon the Law and Example of Christ. In this, it must be admitted that they are in direct contact with the teaching of Jesus" (Troeltsch 1960:336).

One aspect of this radical fellowship is religious equality and brotherly love.

Jacob Krehbiel, in a nineteen-page letter written to the Mennonites of Germany in 1839, describes the customs and practices of the Mennonite communities in America (Bender, ed. 1932). He is speaking principally about Bucks and Montgomery Counties, and about the settlements in upper-state New York and eastern Canada, which were derived principally from the Bucks-Montgomery area.

Krehbiel indicates that the Mennonites emphasized simplicity in dress, but that the amount and type of emphasis varied from place to place. He says, "A major point of accusation against American Mennonites concerns the clothes question, and not altogether without justification. However, . . . in many places in Pennsylvania there is no difference between the costume worn by the Mennonites and that worn by other people in America and Germany" (Bender, ed. 1932:52). Krehbiel had moved to America just ten years earlier. He points out that fashionable dress was far more prevalent in rural America than in rural Germany at the time, implying that the need for restrictions on dress in rural America was greater than the need in Germany. His letter suggests that there was consensus in America on the need to wear plain, simple attire, but not on the specific application of this principle. This view is also taken by the best secondary sources (Gingerich 1970).

The importance of dress in expressing who a person is, and what is his relation to other people, has been widely recognized. Simple dress in the religious community is motivated not only by the desire for modesty, frugality, and the avoidance of ostentation, although these are the reasons most often cited. Similarity in dress also serves as a leveler, emphasizing equality among the members of the community.

Occupational choices in the traditional community were limited largely to farming, marketing, the trades, and homemaking. Normally basic education, only, was tolerated, although there were school teachers. The importance of selected educational and vocational choices

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for the maintenance of the closely knit community has been pointed out by Hostetler and Huntington (1971). Primary contacts were restricted largely to the in-group.

Leaders (ministers and deacons) were always chosen from the congregation, never brought in from the outside. They had no formal training to prepare them for their task. When a new minister was needed for the congregation every member had an opportunity to tell the ministers in person the name of the individual they thought should be ordained minister. This was called "to vote" for a candidate, but it functioned as the equivalent of a nomination. All persons voted for were placed in the lot and selection for office was made by that means.

There were always several ministers in any given congregation, although they might serve several congregations according to the circuit system. The term used to refer to the office was generally "preacher" rather than minister or pastor. The preachers were unsalaried. They were not to preach for money. They continued their regular occupation (usually farming) along with their ministerial responsibilities. The term of service was for life unless some offense caused the individual to be censored by the community.

In addition to ministers, the conference ordained bishops. Bishops were selected by lot from the ordained preachers. The bishops were always highly regarded in the regional conference, but centralization of authority greatly increased in the twentieth century.

Church architecture, by conscious intent, was strikingly different from that of the churches. The building was called the "meetinghouse," not the "church," for the church was, according to them, the brotherhood fellowship, not the building. There was no steeple on the meetinghouse, pointing heavenward, for Christ was in their midst.

The interior arrangement of the meetinghouse also symbolized the concept of the church as a gathered fellowship with Christ in their midst, in the heart of each believer. Traditionally a long pulpit was located along one side of the building. Behind it was a bench sufficiently long to seat all of the ordained men. There was no altar or communion table. Benches were arranged so that they faced each other as they worshipped. The preacher stood in the midst of the congregation as he spoke to them. All unnecessary ornamentation was eliminated from the meetinghouse.

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This architectural plan rather closely resembles that of the New England Puritan meetinghouses (Garvan 1950). The Swiss and South German Mennonites who came to America in colonial times had never worshipped in meetinghouses in Europe. It is not surprising that they adopted a plan already in use that was suitable to their needs. Ernest Stoeffler (1965:1-23) has pointed out similarities between one phase of the Puritan movement in England, and the Anabaptists. Both emphasized simplicity of life, considered Christianity to be experiential, based their teaching directly on the Bible, and expected their beliefs to find expression in their way of life. Thus the adoption of a New England Puritan meetinghouse style does not necessarily need to be considered an importation that was foreign to Mennonite ideology. Rather it seems to have been a borrowing of a type of structure that was rather naturally adapted to their needs.

The Sunday morning service, held on alternate Sundays, or sometimes only once in four Sundays, was for the first century and a half in America the only organized religious activity among the Mennonites. The service was simple; individualistic expression had no place. There were no choirs, no "special music," no individual testimonies. Even sermons, upon completion, were witnessed to by other members of the bench. This practice, called "giving liberty," was carried on well into the twentieth century. Following the completion of the sermon other members of the bench would arise and express approval for what had been said, express additional thoughts, or sometimes disagree with some part of the sermon.

Congregational singing has always had an honored place in the Mennonite service.

The maintenance of church discipline among the members was an important factor in maintaining a fraternal brotherhood. Historical records clearly indicate that mutual admonition, as recommended in Matthew 18, was applied in a practical way: "And if thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault between thee and him alone; and if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee two or three more, that at the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he refuses to hear them, tell it to the church: and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as a gentile and a publican" (Matthew 18:15-17). This method of church discipline is repeatedly illustrated in the incidents

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reported in the conference minutes. Repeatedly the minutes indicate that there is need to deal with a brother in patience and brotherly love. This always implies an offense against the group. Even when this procedure began to be formalized, authority was still seen to be vested in the group, not the hierarchy, for example: "In case of transgressions where a deacon makes an approach he should do so in a mild manner and should not say he was sent by the bishop, but by the conference."

In Anabaptist groups being disciplined by the church meant being banned from fellowship if the individual refused to repent. Among the Mennonites being banned from fellowship meant that the individual was not permitted to participate in the communion service and in some instances was not given the "kiss of peace." It did not otherwise formally affect his social intercourse with members of the church.

The attitude toward the sacraments among the Mennonites was essentially different from that of the churches. The significance of the communion service for the Anabaptists rests in the presence of Christ in the fellowship, not his presence in the elements that are offered.

"In court one of the Anabaptists said that Christ was present in the community of the faithful, not in the bread and wine" (Littell 1952:100).

"Of special significance was the Anabaptist denial of the mass. . . . For them the supper was a memorial and symbol of their corporate union with each other in the risen Lord" (Littell 1952:68).

"The Anabaptists said that Christ was not in the memorial but say on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. For them, to worship the physical bread and wine was the most awful idolatry and materialization of the spiritual truth of the presence of Christ in the midst of the believers assembled" (Littell 1952:69).

Communion in most Lancaster churches was traditionally held twice a year, in the spring and fall. "Full fellowship" was the fundamental prerequisite for communion. This meant that every member must be able to say that he was at peace with his brethren, and that there was unity in the brotherhood. This was taken seriously and literally. Members were required to individually affirm that they were at peace with other members. Long sessions, "council meetings," preceded communion. These

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meetings were held the Saturday preceding communion. It was not uncommon for the communion service to be delayed until unanimity and peace among the brethren could be established. It was felt that a member might do great harm to himself by taking communion unworthily. Only persons belonging to the fellowship, and in good standing, were permitted to participate.

Mennonites and Education

Living under differing political, economic, and national cultures, the Mennonites have not maintained an educational system that is common to the whole body. Only in Russia did the Mennonites develop an extensive educational system of their own (Froese 1949). Within the United States the attitudes toward organized education and participation in educational activities are varied and an adequate description of them would be complex. The reader must recognize that Mennonite educational activities are carried on by a number of the different Mennonite branches independently of each other. The Amish, for example, operate elementary schools, but they are opposed to secondary and collegiate education (Hostetler and Huntington 1971). The Mennonite Church, on the other hand, maintains some schools at all levels: elementary, secondary, and college. The Church of God in Christ Mennonite group has never established educational institutions (Hiebert 1973). The Mennonite Brethren Church maintains a college (Tabor College, McPherson, Kansas) and several Bible schools, but no high schools in the United States; however, it maintains several high schools and a Bible College in Canada. This group maintains no elementary schools. The General Conference Mennonite Church constituency maintains three colleges in the United States: Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio; Bethel College, Newton, Kansas; and Freeman College, Freeman, South Dakota. The Mennonite Church constituency also maintains three colleges: Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia; Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; and Hesston College, Hesston, Kansas. The pattern of education among the Mennonites is indeed varied and, to the outsider, confusing.

When the Mennonites settled in the New World, often from differing regions in Europe, they were anxious to preserve both their religion and their language. To achieve these ends they established many elementary schools. Colonial Mennonites were not opposed to the rudiments of education, but their opposition was to higher, or "worldly" learning. The ability to read, in particular, was highly valued, for it was by reading

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that the Scriptures gave direction. (For his delineation between wisdom vs. scientific method, see Franklin Littell 1969.) Christopher Dock, a colonial schoolmaster among the Mennonites, has left a deep impression among contemporary Mennonites (Massinari 1951) through his published pedagogy or "school management manuals" and his Fraktur drawings.

The first systematic study of Mennonite higher education in the United States did not appear until the year 1925. In his book J. E. Hartzler (1925) discusses early Mennonite attitudes toward education, the German language preparatory school, and the parochial school. Since Hartzler was an aggressive proponent of Mennonite education his treatment ignores almost completely those groups of Mennonites who were opposed to higher education. A review of Hartzler's book by Harold S. Bender (Goshen College Review Supplement, May-June 1926) calls attention to this discrepancy and lends additional perspectives. This early study was followed by Menno Harder's dissertation (1949) which attempts to cover the whole range of educational activity among the Mennonite groups in Europe, Russia, and North and South America, and for the various affiliations of Mennonites. The result is a very general picture of formal schooling from an institutional perspective.

Two recent studies of Mennonite education in the United States are: Ira Ebersole Miller (1953) and Jacob Lester Brubaker (1966). Miller discusses the rise and development of secondary and higher education among the Mennonites, covering such topics as the early development, history, philosophy, objectives, personnel, curriculum, staff, school plant, administration, and financing. The viewpoint is primarily that of an administrator. The dissertation of Jacob Lester Brubaker (1966) is entitled "A History of the Mennonite Elementary School Movement," and provides insights into the rise and decline of Mennonite elementary schools.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE LANCASTER MENNONITE SCHOOL

The Mennonites have lived in Lancaster County since 1710. They farmed the rich soil and built their own elementary schools. As public schools were established, they hesitantly supported them, believing that everyone should be able to read the Bible, but also distrusting the secular influence of higher education and worldly wisdom. Even as recently as the 1930's, Mennonites discouraged high school attendance. In spite of this a few Mennonite young people began to attend school beyond the eighth grade (Brubaker 1966:15-22). Public schools in the area were consolidating and larger schools were being built. By the end of the decade Europe was at war and it was obvious that the United States would soon be involved. The Mennonites were faced with the dual problem of more of their young people being exposed to public high schools and these high schools rapidly becoming involved in the war effort.

In an attempt to safeguard their children and raise them for the church, a group of fifteen concerned Mennonites, both ministers and laymen, presented a petition to the Lancaster Conference Mennonite Board of Bishops in March, 1940. They gave five reasons supporting the establishment of a high school under the care of the Conference: (1) Children are required to remain in school until 17 years of age. (2) As ministers and parents we have had many complaints about moral conditions in our modern high schools. (3) Evolution is taught in practically all our public high schools. (4) Many of the extracurricular activities of our public high schools are not at all in harmony with the teachings of scripture and the practice of the church. (5) To be instructed and guided by our own brethren as teachers, ought to help safeguard our young people who must grow up in an apostate and pleasure-loving world.

The Board of Bishops accepted this petition for prayerful consideration and study. That fall the Bishop Board presented a recommendation to the Lancaster Conference (semi-annual meeting of all ordained ministers and deacons) for the establishment of a high school. Conference members were divided between those who saw the potential of Lancaster Mennonite School as a vital part of the growing education of the youth of the church, and those who believed that higher education does little but lead youth astray. These latter members saw the interest in high school as part of a worldly (secular) trend (Laurel Wreath 1967:18). The vote was close: in October, 1940,

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51 percent voted in favor of the high school. A Board of Trustees was organized (November 19, 1941) and immediately began investigating suitable sites (Laurel Wreath 1957:100) and working to build support among church members. John Gochenauer, the vice-president of the Board of Trustees of Lancaster Conference Schools wrote the following statement for circulation among the churches, clearly putting forth the reasons Mennonites should support the establishment of a high school:

"Lancaster Mennonite School

"The reasons and purposes, and motives that underlie the present movement to establish a standard, state accredited four year high school in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference District reach back over the years and are constantly becoming more urgent and insistent.

"While it is true that all high schools are not equally objectionable and while it is also true that many fine young people have received their training at state controlled high schools, and have retained their faith and love for the church in spite of the adverse influences and environment, there is grave danger to compromise with worldly tendencies and even to question the deity of Christ and the inspiration of the Scriptures, in direct proportion to the views held by the teaching personnel.

"In teaching biology and physics the tendency is almost universal to confuse the student by teaching for facts, the oft times fanciful and unproven theories, instead of the simple voice of Revelation, that 'in the beginning God created all things.'

"The study of ancient history is made meaningless and loses its charm by being entirely disassocated with the great men and women of the Bible.

"The recreational and social activities have a tendency to stimulate a desire for the lure and appeal of the dance and the movie, rather than the 'ornament of a meek and quiet spirit which in the sight of God is of great price.'

"Competitive games are driven to the point where they seriously interfere with the class room work.

"In the physical exercise period Christian girls are sometimes required to don slacks or even shorts to the great detriment of that sense of modesty and reserve that

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is so vital to the charms of Christian youth.

"Even in the wash rooms there is such a grouping together that is repulsive to a proper sense of propriety.

"There is a growing tendency to make students unduely 'State' minded, to insist on the flag salute, to urge the purchase of war stamps and bonds, to stimulate political convictions, and foster a fascination for military activities and probably also compulsory military training.

"This church school movement has been conceived in prayer, born out of a great need and is founded on the great principles of the Scripture as believed and practiced by the Mennonite Church for more than four hundred years.

"We appeal to all those who are interested in Christian education for our youth, to support this work with your good will, your prayers, your gifts and prospective students.

"Such support, we believe is an investment in eternal values, and will result in enriched lives and efficient service for the church."

In September, 1942, the school opened with a physical plant of four usable buildings, a six-member faculty, and a student body of 153. Tuition was $135 a year for day students and $245 for dormitory students. Students had a choice of a four-year academic course or a two-year Bible course for those who did not approve of a regular high school education. It was made clear that the school was "not encouraging children to go to high school, but making provision for such who desire to go" (Annual Bulletin 1942:9). (See Appendix Q "The Creation of Lancaster Mennonite High School.")

IV. ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SCHOOL

THE SETTING

The main entrance to the private high school is off Route 30, an old, very busy highway connecting Philadelphia and Lancaster. Semi-trucks and tourists rush past, hardly noticing the sign identifying the school, nor the plain, utilitarian brick buildings set back from the road. The school is not oriented toward the highway; although the highway was there for several centuries before the school came into being.

The buildings face one another and a private road. The school has not turned its back on the highway, nor does it use the highway as a point of orientation. The highway is a means of reaching the school and leaving the school; it is a part of the world that is useful. The school buildings are discreetly removed from the highway by a large grassy field. Just beyond one edge of the campus is the Mennonite Historical Library, an archive of local religious and cultural history. To the other side, a decaying farm house separates the school from the new condominiums and a Howard Johnson's Motel. Across the highway from the school, an Amish family tills the land with horse-drawn plow and cultivator. The Mill Creek flows serenely through the campus, except at flood time, and beyond the Mill Creek are fields with cattle, a woods, and some faculty housing. There are few fences, and one feels that the school is separated from the encroaching urban life around it by an ever diminishing boundary of farm land. As the natural isolation of rural life is lost, a more conscious identity is developing, signified in part by the Historical Society at one edge of the 85-acre campus.

The original building of the cluster is an old stone barn built in 1774. The red brick mill was built on the banks of the creek in 1855. The mill, barn, and adjoining buildings were added to by the Episcopalians, who converted them into a boys' school. The school stood empty for 18 years until purchased by the Lancaster Mennonite Conference and opened as a high school in September 1942. The Mennonites built new buildings, simple functional brick boxes in the style of the 1950's. They are softened somewhat by the rolling fields, the old trees and the winding Mill Creek. During the 1970's the gracious old buildings, decaying and expensive to maintain, are being torn down and replaced with efficient buildings that meet the school code and are above the flood plain of Mill Creek.

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Although in relation to the highway the school appears to be turned in upon itself, any sensitive visitor or observer immediately feels the intimate connection the school maintains with the wider church community. There is constant interaction with members of the Mennonite community that surrounds and supports the school. Only one member of the faculty is not a member of the Mennonite Church and he belongs to a closely related church that is also Anabaptist in origin.[1] Not only are faculty and administration Mennonites, but all the other employees as well --the secretaries, the cooks, the maintenance men. The student body is 95 percent Mennonite. Those few students who are not Mennonite may have some Mennonite affiliation--in certain cases with an urban Mennonite mission church.

An early annual catalogue (1943-44:15) states, "The Lancaster Mennonite School aims then to give to the young people of the Mennonite Church an appreciation for true values, expressed in loyalty to the Church and a life of service to God and our fellow men." The school stressed the teaching of a simple way of life which included the practice of love to all, the building of a well balanced character in the pupil, the demonstration of biblical separation from worldly, unscriptural interests, and a practical education useful in making a living with one's hands. Thirty years later the school still stresses the development of the "whole personality of each student," and equipping the student "to be of service to God and to his fellowman" (Focus on LMH 1974). Making a living with one's hands is no longer emphasized, although "a broad and varied curriculum can be individualized to meet the needs of those going to college as well as the larger number whom God is not calling to collegiate studies." In addition to a strong religious emphasis, the school attempts "to develop with excellence the intellectual talents of youth." There are tensions inherent in the effort to fuse the development of a Christ-centered life in the Anabaptist tradition with academic excellence as understood in secular United States.

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[1]The Constitution of the School (1966:Article X) states: "In addition to the necessary professional qualifications for successful teaching, only such teachers shall be employed as are members of the Mennonite Church or that are in full harmony with the Doctrine and Discipline of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, being examples of the believers in spirituality, separation from the world, including plainness and regulation of attire as interpreted by Conference, and free from all unscriptural teaching, such as evolution, higher criticism, etc."

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AN ETHNIC MINORITY

Although the Lancaster Conference Mennonites have given up many of the patterns of behavior that have in the past served as bounding mechanisms, they still form an ethnic group. They have given up the German language both in the home and in the church. However, they still maintain some characteristic speech patterns and intonations, but terms of abuse with scatological or sexual connotations are not generally used. Specific religious and ritual terms occur often in their speech. Certain in-group terms such as Anabaptist, the lot, brotherhood, nonresistance, and discipleship have a specialized meaning for them. Some characteristic food preferences are shared with other Pennsylvania Germans. There is an identifiable physiognomy and carriage that makes a person "look Mennonite." The place of residence may indicate Mennonite affiliation, as may the surname. Only 192 different last names were represented among the 585 individuals listed in the 1974 Lancaster Mennonite High School yearbook. Were one to count just Mennonite students there would be considerably fewer surnames represented. The Lancaster Conference Mennonites maintain a church-defined relation to the federal government: members may not serve in the armed forces, they are discouraged from voting or taking part in politics, and encouraged to pray for men holding government office. Their ethnicity finds strongest expression in their religious behavior.

Ethnic Mennonites of the Lancaster Conference function in three different spheres: (1) a public sphere, (2) a "middle American" sphere, and (3) a Mennonite sphere. When functioning in the public sphere they behave as Mennonites interacting with non-Mennonites. They are functioning as Christians "in the world" but not "of the world." This is the stance they assume when they are "witnessing" and to a lesser extent demonstrate everytime they appear in public with a prayer veiling or a plain coat. In contrast, when they are functioning as "middle Americans" they are not only "in the world," they are also "of the world." They are making no distinction between themselves and the non-Mennonites with whom they are interacting. This occurs primarily in economic and occupational spheres, such as when Mennonite businessmen are ordering poultry or selling tractors, and Mennonite women are shopping or working as nurses. Men in the "middle American" sphere would be dressed in regular suits and women in the same sphere would not wear a prayer veiling. In a sense, such a Mennonite in the middle American sphere is "passing" in the same way that a generation ago light-skinned individuals who were classified as "colored" would "pass" as white members of the

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dominant culture. There is some tension and considerable difference of opinion concerning when it is appropriate to witness and when it is appropriate to pass. The third sphere is the private sphere or the Mennonite sphere. This encompasses the norms of interaction within the Mennonite congregation and within the Mennonite community which specify how one behaves when he is with fellow Mennonites. There are appropriate and different patterns of behavior for each sphere and the Mennonite adolescent learns the appropriateness of each set of behaviors. The relative importance of the three spheres has changed. During the early colonial period, when the Mennonites settled in geographically contiguous rural communities, individuals functioned primarily within the Mennonite sphere. However, the Mennonites have never been completely isolated, so they have always functioned in the other two spheres, although "passing" is a relatively recent phenomenon.

When this high school was established, about 80 percent of the families were engaged in farming (Table V-6). Even today (Table V-3) almost 40 percent of the students live on farms over 50 acres, 55 percent of them live on farms of three acres or more, and approximately 90 percent of the families produce some of their own food. In spite of this, the Lancaster Conference Mennonites have been integrated with the national economy ever since they first arrived. The political integration tends to be one way: they pay their taxes, obey the laws but do not vote or run for office. As the province of government has increased with such things as income tax, social security, public funds for education, and the draft, the Mennonites have become more closely integrated with the government. The Lancaster Conference Mennonites do not influence the legislature through ordinary political channels because most still refrain from voting. However, they willingly address governmental officials, and in cooperation with the Quakers and the Brethren they were able to persuade the government to establish an alternative service program in which their young men could serve instead of going into the armed forces.

Religiously the Lancaster Conference Mennonites have maintained their identity. There is a discernible influence from fundamentalism and the charismatic movement, but the core of the belief system remains firmly Anabaptist. The Lancaster Conference observes close communion, which means that only church members in good standing may participate. Communion is celebrated by the whole congregation twice a year following a council meeting and a preparatory service, during which each communicant individually indicates that he is at peace with God and with members

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of the congregation and is willing to work in harmony with the discipline of the church. This is an effective means of holding the community together and excluding outsiders. In spite of a tendency toward isolation, the Mennonites have always interacted economically, politically, religiously, and socially with the outside culture. The degree of interaction has increased as urbanization and mass communications have encroached on their rural existence.

Religiously and socially these Mennonites have maintained the greatest degree of isolation from the larger culture. Within the realm of religion, for example, they did not establish a mission board until 1914 and their first foreign missionaries were sent out in 1934 (Kraybill 1964:213). Socially, Mennonites still tend to marry within the church and most of their friends are Mennonites. The Mennonite students who had attended the high school for at least two years reported that on the average 4.5 of their five closest friends were also Mennonites (Table V-1). About 70 percent of the students, parents and teachers indicate that four or five of their five closest friends are Mennonites. Had we asked about specific friends, I suspect the percentage would have been higher. The degree that they feel removed socially from the economic sphere is indicated by the fact that 70 percent of the parents said that none of their five closest friends works at their place of employment (Table V-1). This would also suggest that Mennonites are now willing to go outside their ethnic community for employment to meet economic needs. They are discouraged from joining labor unions because unions use coercive practices.

The increasing interaction of members of the Mennonite community with members of the wider culture, the changing amount of time spent in the Mennonite sphere, the public sphere and the middle American sphere, and the changing relationships in the area of economic endeavors, political involvement and social and religious interaction have all been mirrored in the school and reacted to by the school. The school was established to remove the children from the public sphere, to "safeguard" them, to protect them from being influenced and absorbed by middle America. Its function was primarily to protect the children religiously and socially from the larger culture. It was very much an ethnic school functioning to "assist the parents and the church in the task of educating their young people" (Constitution 1941: Article III, Sec. 1) and functioning "to indoctrinate young people in the Word of God and to acquaint them with the teachings of the Mennonite Church" (Constitution 1941: Article III, Sec. 2a). It was to "guide the youth in social relationships . . . under Christian influence and in an

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environment for the development of Christian character" (Constitution 1941: Article III, Sec. 2). It was to help check the "drift" of the church toward the world (wider culture). The school was firmly under the administration of the Bishop Board of the Conference; they controlled the school (Constitution 1941: Article IV, Sec. 2). The Religious Welfare Committee appointed the principal, whose duty it was to make the school "in every way possible a servant of the church" (Constitution 1941: Article IX, Sec. 3). The faculty was to exemplify and adopt the full order of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Discipline and teach in full harmony with and nothing contrary to the Rules and Discipline (Constitution 1941: Article IX, Sec. 5 and Article X, Sec. 1). It is interesting that sections of the Constitution pertaining to organization could be amended by the Board of Trustees with the approval of the Bishop Board, but the sections relating to safeguard features could be changed only with the consent of the Conference. It was primarily an ethnic school for a group of people who expressed their ethnicity through their religion and their life style.

There are certain trends clearly discernible during the thirty-odd years the school has been in existence. These trends are characteristic of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference as a whole but are often more clearly observed in the school which is to some extent a controlled and idealized subculture. They will be discussed primarily in relation to the school and its function as an institution for the transmitting of cultural values during a period of rapid social change. We will discuss the values that are being maintained, the values that are being lost and new values that are being acquired or emphasized. We will also note the following developments: (1) A growing portion of the Lancaster Conference Mennonites' life is spent in the "public" sphere and in the "middle American" sphere at the expense of the Mennonite sphere. (2) There is movement from group orientation toward individual orientation, and (3) There is evidence that this ethnic group is being enculturated but not assimilated. The Lancaster Conference Mennonites are becoming enculturated in that they are in general accepting patterns of behavior of the larger culture, but they are not becoming assimilated in that they are stressing specific differences, often symbolic, that function to help them, as individuals maintain their Mennonite identity.

Among the values being maintained are an Anabaptist theology and an emphasis on a strong, stable nuclear family. The Anabaptist doctrine encompasses nonresistance, which receives great emphasis; Christian service, which

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is also stressed; and separation of church and state. The belief in Jesus as a personal savior, that God has a plan for each individual Christian's life, and that each person has a free will and, therefore, can choose whether or not to follow Christ's teaching are theological values that are still maintained. The church is considered to be a brotherhood and members are to assist one another in time of need. This assistance is becoming more formalized as modern employment practices hinder spontaneous work sharing, but there is an effort both within the church and in the school to apply the concept of brotherhood on a practical, everyday level. For example, the faculty lend money to one another at a low rate of interest.

The Conference is concerned with the family life of its members. The Discipline points out that the "Conference sanctions a Christian marriage when both are believers and live a nonconformed and nonresistant life" (Conference Discipline 1968: Article II, Sec. 4). Members may not marry divorced persons. Fornication or adultery requires public confession before the member is admitted back into fellowship. Daily family worship including Scripture reading, singing and prayer is urged and parents are to train children along moral and spiritual lines. More than half of the Mennonite students at the school report that their family has devotions together daily or several times a week. One of the arguments against television is that it is destructive of the sanctity of marriage and the Christian home. Less than half of the Mennonite students view television as often as once a week.

Among the values being rejected are some of the outward symbols of simplicity characterized by the distinctive dress codes. Most Lancaster Conference women still wear the prayer veiling at least in church, but younger women rarely wear cape dresses and most men have ordinary suits. Many of the Lancaster Conference Mennonites are thriving economically, which makes adhering to simplicity and nonconformity in material possessions more difficult.

Among those values being acquired are greater individualism, a development of historical pride and the concept of being a "people." These three values are closely interrelated. As the organic quality of the local group declines and its discipline becomes weaker, as individualism grows, there develops a need for a feeling of group identity, for roots. This need is met by a sense of peoplehood. The "group" enlarges from the local congregation to include the whole conference, and the whole international Mennonite church not only in the present but also in the past. One can belong to a "people" and maintain greater individual freedom than when one owes his

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primary allegiance to the local congregation and is under the scrutinizing eye of his neighbor or his bishop. There is a trend toward identification being expressed abstractly rather than in folkways. Discipleship is stressed rather than not owning a television set. In other words, a belief system becomes more important than cultural details. As external symbols are abandoned, verbalization of characteristic beliefs become more important. One girl said, "I don't think the covering is necessary. I could just wear a button saying 'I am a Mennonite.'"

Changes observable in the school during the past 30 years are related to the changes in the relative importance of the three spheres of interaction: public, middle American, and Mennonite; and in the growing individualism. During the early years of the school the Conference was attempting to protect their children from the public and especially the middle American sphere. The school was to be a safeguard to keep out the bad world. The group protected and directed the child. This function has not been lost, but there is a shifting emphasis to nurturing the child rather than simply safeguarding him, to enable him to grow strong in his faith, in his Mennonitism, to develop the individual strength to protect himself from being absorbed into the wider culture when inevitably he must live within it.

The role of the school in teaching the adolescent how to function as a Mennonite within the Mennonite community is growing. As the natural isolation breaks down under the onslaught of urbanization and mass communications, even the young children are exposed to the public sphere and the middle American sphere, and they need more and more help learning what it means to be a Mennonite. This the school admirably provides. Leaders of the church are constantly visiting the school, preaching in the chapel, visiting classes, talking to the students. The students learn who these men are and they learn to know them both as names and as individuals; they learn their role in the church and the kind of people they are. The students learn informally the geneology of Lancaster Mennonites. It is said that a Mennonite is not comfortable at a dinner table unless he knows the maiden name of each man's wife. Mennonites place one another by family and by congregation. And the students learn these patterns and networks. Who is related to whom and how and where they worship is explored at the beginning of any acquaintance. The students know a tremendous amount of this informational background about one another. In many of the yearbooks each senior's parents' names (both mother and father) and their

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home congregations are listed. That is how people are placed. The importance of students establishing friendships with one another cannot be overemphasized. These friendships help insure that most of their social life will be within the Mennonite subculture and because many church leaders are graduates of the school it means that there is further identification with them. The school encourages its students to be active in the church on every level.

When one analyzes the belief system in contrast to, for example, the details of the dress code one is struck by the continuity. Though the details of the discipline vary, the attitude toward discipline remains remarkably consistent. The 1943 Handbook explains that "pupils are expected to obey without question or show of resentment . . . and are expected to comply willingly with the intent and purpose of the regulations" (Student Handbook 1947: 17). This is still the prevailing attitude and in 1974 the privilege of attendance at the school is "based upon cooperation" (Student Handbook 1973-74:16).

The school is religious in its orientation rather than democratic. There is a supernaturally sanctioned final authority rather than a belief in majority rule. To quote the Handbook (1957:16):

"The school is the servant of the church, and therefore administered by it. The church is the servant of God dedicated to the upholding of very high ideals and purposes. . . . In line with these beliefs the policy of the administration is more that of charging responsible persons for the carrying out of assigned ideals than the more democratic form of administration where policies change with popular opinion."

This is still the case, especially in relation to the role of students within the school. When the faculty was studying John Holt's (1969) The Underachieving School, they disagreed with Holt that the children know best what they need. The majority felt "that children needed more guidance from adults than John Holt would say" (Administrator's Diary, March 19, 1973). But the other side of the coin is a belief in the brotherhood of all believers (baptized members of the church) and the need to listen to one another. The Mennonite religion is congregational and group-centered and this mitigates against isolating human authority. In areas such as religious development or during Christian Growth Week no distinction is made between faculty and students in the call to witness or to make a religious commitment; they function as one brotherhood. Each is free to admit his personal weakness, which

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does not seem to diminish the faculty's ability to function authoritatively.

"The faculty members are responsible for maintaining order and shall be expected to exercise this authority in kindness" (Student Handbook, 1949:13).

"We wanted to deal with this incident in a way so as not to contribute further to the resentment and bitterness but to deal redemptively at the same time communicating our concern and our disapproval for what had happened" (Administrative memo: June 16, 1973). Authority is perceived as firm protective guidance.

Although to the outsider some of the rules appear to be rather insignificant and the punishments relatively severe, they are meted out in kindness and an attempt is made to be sure that the student understands the need for punishment. This is characteristic of a highly disciplined and conformity-demanding culture (Spindler 1974:vi), which the school has always strived to be.

The place of the Bible in education and daily life has not changed. In 1943 it was an aim of the school "to give the Bible place in each course of study" (Annual Bulletin 1943:15) and in the fall of 1973, 100 percent of the teachers said religious matters should be discussed in their classrooms. In 1943 the school stressed that "in all cases where textbooks and courses of study differ from the Bible, the Bible shall be the highest authority" (Annual Bulletin 1943:16). In dedicating the 1968 yearbook to the biology teacher, the students pointed out "the laughter is replaced by a look of earnestness during the spirited discussions of evolution where theories are proved, questions raised, and opinions stated, but where the final authority is always the Bible" (Laurel Wreath 1968:3). Ninety-five percent or more of the students, parents, and teachers believe that the Bible is actually the inspired word of God (Table A-3 in Appendix A).

CHANGING SCHOOL REGULATIONS

In order to illustrate some of the changes and to give a feeling for the rules and regulations of the school we will quote a few sections from the first year the regulations were published in the Annual Bulletin of 1943, then 15 years later from the Student's Handbook of Information of 1958 and again 15 years later from the Student's Handbook of 1973. Some of the changes reflect the growing size of the school, as it moves from a small family type organization to a larger institutional organization. Other changes reflect changing patterns in the Mennonite

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Church and still others reflect styles in the outside world.

"General Conduct, 1943: The school is a Christian school and must insist on consistent conduct. Pupils shall not use profanity, obscene talk, tobacco, strong drink or habit-forming drugs, in school or out of school, while they are attending school. No pupil shall be permitted to use chewing gum in the school buildings at any time.

"Books of fiction, fashion magazines, and other similar questionable magazines shall not be brought to school to be used in the rooms by the pupils. This does not prevent the bringing of suitable reference material for use in classroom assignments by pupils. The school will provide an abundance of reading matter for pupils to use and expects pupils to use the library books and magazines in school. . . .

"Social activities shall be limited to the free mingling of all students. Pupils who are 18 years or over may have social privileges with permission. This school does not approve the practice of extremely early courtships and must insist that pupils decide to give their energies to school work till they are no longer attending school.

"Loud shouting in dormitories and classroom buildings is never permitted. Lavatory rooms and the dining room shall be kept quiet. In the library and reading room there shall be no noise at any time. After the bell for lights to be out, there shall be no loud talking. Pupils are expected to sleep then. Late permission shall be rarely asked for and not readily granted. . . .

"Day students are to go home and come to school without stopping along the way. If they use buses or automobiles to go and come, they shall travel quietly and not interfere with other travelers. . . .

"Day students are expected to spend evenings in a way that does not interfere with good school work. . . .

"Pupils are expected to be governed by standards of common sense and fairness where a definite regulation has not been stated" (1943:17-18).

"General Conduct, 1958: The school is a Christian school and must insist on consistent conduct.

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"Pupils shall not use profanity, obscene talk, strong drink or habit-forming drugs while they are attending school.

"Chewing gum is not allowed in any of the school buildings at any time. Repeated violations result in suspension.

"Books of fiction, fashion magazines, and any other questionable literature shall not be brought to school. . .

"Loud shouting in dormitories and classroom buildings is never permitted. Lavatory rooms and the dining room shall be kept quiet. In the library and reading room there shall be no noise at any time.

"Pupils are expected to be governed by standards of common sense and fairness where a definite regulation has not been stated.

"Day students shall go home promptly after dismissal. They are expected to go home and come to school without stopping along the way.

"Day students are expected to spend evenings in a way that does not interfere with good school work.

"Social Standards: The school does not approve the practice of early courtship and must insist that pupils give their energies to school work.

"Social activities shall be limited to the free mingling of all students.

"Frequent and persistent mingling with only one person of the opposite sex is considered dating by the school. Boys and girls may not "keep company" at school by walks, loitering or conversation in couples" (1958:8, 9, 12, 14).

"General Conduct, 1973: Drinking alcoholic beverages and using tobacco and illegal drugs are prohibited at all times on the campus and at off-campus school functions. Students are not permitted to have any of these items in their possession at any of these times. Violators of this policy will be suspended or expelled.

"Students are to use language that is truthful, kind, and pure.

"Students are not permitted to use radios during the school day.

"Group social relationships are encouraged, but dating on campus is discouraged. Students are expected to exhibit high social standards in relationships between the sexes.

"No students are allowed in the dormitories during the school day except by special permission from the administrative office.

"Day students are to leave campus by 4:00 p.m. each day unless involved in an approved after-school rehearsal, athletic event, or similar activity.

"Leaving purses and other valuables unattended puts a temptation before those who are weak. The information office secretary will take care of money and other valuables if they must be brought to school.

"Gum chewing is discouraged in public. Teachers are free to enforce a no-gum-chewing policy in their classes.

"Locked doors are not to be tampered with. Picking locks or forcing doors is considered serious misconduct.

"Because of the dangers of injury and drowning students are not allowed in the Mill Stream. Throwing other persons into the stream, even in fun, is cause for suspension" (1973:19).

The following dress code regulations indicate changes over the years, but the regulations are consistent in that they function to maintain a distance between the Mennonite student and the non-Mennonite. Uniformity of attire is definitely breaking down among the Mennonites in spite of its function as an aid in "unifying the church" and strengthening "the church's witness in the world" (Lancaster Conference Rules and Discipline 1968:20). The school enforces a stricter dress code than do most congregations or even church organizations, such as the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities.

"Standards and Requirements on Dress, 1943: The Lancaster Conference endeavors to maintain nonconformity in attire by Bible teaching on the subject and by the establishment of a uniform garb in practice.

"Members of the Mennonite Church are expected to be governed by the Conference discipline and the following

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school regulations. Others shall be dressed modestly at all times, not exposing parts of the body or calling attention to them by the clothes worn.

"Girls--Dresses shall be full to the neck, skirts shall not be tight fitting, and the pattern shall be consistent with standards of plainness. The length shall be consistent with modesty. It is required of each student girl that her dress reach at least half-way between the knee and the ankle. The material shall be of a quiet color, if there is a print or design it shall be small and not conspicuous, and the material shall not be transparent. Full length sleeves shall be worn.

"Black stockings shall be worn by all student girls.

"The devotional covering shall be worn regularly by members of the Mennonite Church while at school. It shall be of a size and design consistent with Conference statements relating to it, and large enough to fully serve its intended purpose. The bonnet as specified in Conference regulations shall be the head-gear for girls, and shall be worn in going to and from school.

"Boys--For members, the regulation coat is recommended as indicated by Conference statements on the subject. The following shall be definitely insisted upon for all who attend Lancaster Mennonite School:

"Boys shall wear modest colored stockings and keep them well supported. Sporty colored socks and shoes are not allowed.

"Long neckties and the new, large, gay colored ties are not allowed. The school teaches that the necktie is superfluous, and strongly urges against its use.

"No hats of gaudy design and color shall be worn.

"In all classroom activities boys shall appear dressed with collars closed and sleeves down. When it is warm because of weather conditions, the coat may be omitted, but ordinarily pupils will be expected to wear the coat or sweater. This shall apply to class activities, dining room appearances, and all public meetings. It does not apply to athletics and other occasions when such a regulation would be impractical. Vivid colored sweaters and sport shirts shall not be worn at any school activities.

"Hats or caps shall be worn by boys when leaving the campus. . . .

00073

"Pupils are expected to comply willingly with the intent and purpose of these regulations. Sarcastic attitudes toward Church and school regulations on dress, or violations on points not mentioned because of their being self-evident shall be considered as violations" (1943:18,19,20).

"Requirements on Dress, 1958: The Lancaster Mennonite Conference endeavors to maintain nonconformity in attire by Bible teaching and by establishing a uniform garb in practice. The school has strategic opportunities in guiding youths into attitudes of respect for and loyalty to church standards and requirements. . . .

"Students who are members of the Mennonite Church are expected to be governed by the following school regulations while under the school's influence.

"Students who are not members of the Mennonite Church shall be dressed modestly at all times, not exposing parts of the body or calling attention to them by the clothes worn.

"General--Loud, flashy colors and extremes in two-tone or contrasting colors are not allowed.

"Cleats on shoes are not allowed.

"Letters, insignias, corsages, etc., on jackets or sweaters are not to be worn at school.

"Shoes shall be dark and of one shade.

"Boys--'Flat tops,' 'duck-tail' hair cuts, very short crew cuts are not allowed.

"Shirt collars are to be buttoned in classes, assembly, study hall, and dining room. Shirts may be worn with the collar button open during very hot weather but only after proper announcement by the school administration.

"Shirts made of transparent or sheer materials are not allowed unless worn under a sweater or jacket.

"Jackets or trousers with metal ornaments, buckles, rivets are not allowed.

"Tight trousers are prohibited.

00074

"Girls--Dresses shall be full to the neck. They shall include a cape.

"Trim, lace, or buttons of contrasting colors on the cape or dress are not permitted.

"The length shall be consistent with modesty. For senior and junior girls it should be long enough to reach one-third way between the knee and ankle. For freshmen and sophomores the length shall not be less than three inches below the knee.

"Full length sleeves are to be worn. Sleeves above the elbow are not permitted.

"The material should be of a quiet color. If there is a print or design it shall be small and not conspicuous.

"Transparent or sheer materials are immodest and not allowed.

"Black stockings shall be worn by all girls at school. Other shades are not acceptable.

"The devotional covering shall be worn regularly by members of the Mennonite Church. It shall be of a size and design suitable to cover the head. The front piece shall measure at least one and three-quarter inches.

"The hair shall be parted in the middle. It shall be worn high enough on the back of the head to be entirely covered by the veiling" (1958:10,11).

"Appearance, 1973: The school has established guidelines regarding student dress and appearance that promote good grooming and express Christian ideals of simplicity and modesty. It is understood that 'good grooming,' 'simplicity,' and 'modesty' are terms subject to varied interpretations, but it is believed that the adopted rules are appropriate to the promotion of these ideals.

"To express good grooming students are asked to dress in neat, clean clothing. Boys' shirts with tails shall be worn inside the trousers. T-shirts are not appropriate except for athletic activities. Hair that covers the ears or hangs over the shirt collar when one is standing erect is not neatly trimmed according to the school's definition. Socks for boys and hose for girls are required. Girls shall wear dresses, dress suits, or skirt and blouse combinations. Culotte type skirts are not appropriate. Girls

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are asked to wear long hair that is neatly groomed and not flowing loosely. Any girl whose hair becomes so short that she cannot tie it back will be suspended until she can conform to the rule.

"To express simplicity students are encouraged to avoid expensive clothing and large wardrobes. Decorative jewelry and noticeable make-up violates the school's interpretation of simplicity.

"To express modesty students are expected to wear clothing with sleeves. Form-fitting and sheer clothing is not appropriate. Girls' dresses shall have modest necklines, and the dresses shall reach at least to the knees (not more than three inches from the floor level when she is kneeling erect).

"Because we believe the veil of I Corinthians 11:2-16 is to be practiced as a symbol of divine order among Christians, all girls are encouraged to wear a veiling. Mennonite girls are asked to wear the traditional two-piece veiling on campus constantly except when participating in organized athletic activities.

"In physical education activities girls shall wear regular length skirts and boys shall wear full-length trousers, or they shall wear the school prescribed athletic uniform. No culottes or shorts other than those prescribed by the school are permitted.

"Girls may wear slacks for ice skating and sledding only if a regular length dress or three-quarter to full length coat is worn over the slacks" (1973:18-19).

In spite of the dress standards the students at the high school reflect the general styles worn by non-Mennonites in the area. The Mennonite versions of the current styles are subdued and often show a time lag of several years. Looking through the yearbook one can see the influence of the crew cut, then longer hair for the boys, of the Louffant hair style followed by flowing, long hair for the girls. The popularity of ankle socks and head scarfs are reflected in the girls' attire in spite of restrictions and regulations. General style, cut and length of dress mirror current or passing fashion. "Capes" (a second piece of cloth that covered the front and back bodice of the dress from the shoulders to the waist) were still required in 1969, as was the bonnet. By 1970 capes had gone and on the Washington trip, when the students are clearly functioning in the public sphere, they wore a modified bonnet. More recently

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they wear their prayer veiling in public, but not their bonnets. Maxi dresses (to the ankle) also first appeared at the school in 1970.

A new attitude at the school toward clothing regulations is nicely expressed in the Faculty Handbook (1972:39):

"Specific dress code statements are not necessarily statements of permanent rightness or wrongness nor are they to imply degrees of spirituality. They are attempts to express generally accepted Christian and cultural principles in ways that seem appropriate at a particular time and place.

"Practicing a particular dress code may be hypocritical, or it may be an expression of caring for the conscience of others. Which it is, depends on the individual. Those who see it as hypocritical should not harm their own consciences by accepting employment."

Although the Bible is used as the authority (Romans 12:2, I Corinthians 10:32, I Timothy 2:9,10), today the school and not the church takes the responsibility for making the rules regarding dress.

Since the opening of the school, dress regulations have become less severe, but rules governing the free movement of students on the campus have become more severe. During the early years (1947), dormitory students could go to their rooms during study periods or free time and visitors appeared to be more common.

"Pupils shall not have visitors call on them and make it an occasion for violating regulations. Pupils should inform their friends of school regulations and ask them to comply.

"During the free periods in the morning and evening pupils may invite other pupils to their rooms, if they can maintain order during such visits. During study periods, devotion periods, mealtimes and any other times when there is definitely assigned activity, such as class periods, pupils may not have visitors in their rooms except with special permission" (1947:17)

However, by 1958 students could no longer have "visitors or other pupils in their rooms except by special permission. This permission shall not be asked for except for urgent reasons and shall rarely be granted. Pupils shall inform their friends of school regulations and ask them to comply" (1958:12)

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In the 1973 Student Handbook visitors are mentioned only during school hours as dormitory regulations are no longer included in the handbook. "During school hours all visitors are asked to stop at the school office before going to any part of the school campus. Approved visitors will receive visitor passes. . . . Children under grade six may visit only if accompanied by their parents" (1973:27).

Conduct in the library and study halls is spelled out in growing detail as the years pass. In 1943 the only mention of conduct in the library and study halls was that "in the library and reading room there shall be no noise at any time" (1943:14). By 1958 there was a section in the Handbook on study hall conduct.

"Study Hall Conduct: Students shall not speak to other students without permission from the study hall supervisor.

"Each student shall fill out a library permission slip and present it to the supervisor to secure permission to go to the library.

"The library shall be used only for research and outside reading in periodicals.

"Dictionaries, Bible dictionaries, and similar study helps are in the study hall and shall be used in the study hall. Not more than one person shall use an unabridged dictionary at one time.

"Study periods shall not be used to practice for programs or other activities.

"Students shall present a written request from their teacher if they need to make up back work during a study period in another room"

And by 1973 there was a section on both study halls and the library.

"Study Halls: Each student is assigned a definite room and a definite seat for all study periods. There is to be no communication among students without permission. Students may not leave their study room without permission and a pass. Students having such passes shall return to the study hall at least five minutes before the end of the period.

"Library: A quiet, study atmosphere is to be

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maintained at all times.

"No library materials are to be taken from the library before checking them out at the desk. Magazines and pamphlets may be checked out overnight. Filmstrips, cassettes, and records do not circulate except by special permission.

"All material shall be returned to the circulation desk.

"Library books are due to be returned no later than two weeks from the Friday of the week during which they were checked out. Magazines and pamphlets circulate only overnight. They must be returned before homeroom the following morning.

"Students who have overdue books are fined two cents per book per school day overdue. Students returning magazines late will be fined five cents per day.

"If a library book or magazine becomes lost, the student should report it to the librarian immediately to avoid accumulating large overdue fines. If a book or magazine is not found and returned by the end of the term, the student will need to pay for it."

Although the two earlier guidelines prohibit communication between floors or buildings by way of windows, pipes, stairways or dropping notes, (1943:17; 1958:8) nothing is said about conduct in the corridors. By 1973 there is a section of these rules.

"Corridor Rules:

"1. Move quickly and quietly without running.

"2. Keep to the right as you pass through the hallways so as to avoid congestion.

"3. Avoid going to lockers before classes. All needed items for morning or afternoon are to be obtained in advance and carried throughout the half day.

"4. Persons leaving a room have priority over those entering.

"5. Three minutes is ample time to pass to your next class if you move promptly. Those who need to use the lavatories may ask their teachers for permission during class time.

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"6. Loitering in lavatories and corridors outside the lavatories is not permitted" (1973:20)

In the spring of 1974 the uses of passes was extended. Not only was a student supposed to have a pass anytime he was out of class or in the corridor during class time, but he also had to have a pass in order to be admitted to any class after the tardy bell rang. Free time and free movement were further curtailed in the school year 1974-75 by shortening the lunch hour, reducing the number of study halls, and increasing the number of required courses to six.

EVIDENCE OF DECREASING ISOLATION

The trend toward individualism is illustrated by a perusal of the yearbook dedications. During the early years the Laurel Wreath was often dedicated to more than one person: in 1947 to "our Christian faculty," in 1950 and 1956 to "our parents," in 1951 to three missionaries, then in 1952 to "our home pastors," and in 1953 to "the alumni." In 1958 it was again dedicated to "the faculty" and in 1959 it was dedicated "to those whose love of youth and concern for Christianity motivates them to give time and money to the needs of a growing church school." In 1960 the Laurel Wreath was dedicated to "our parents, our schoolteachers, our pastors and Sunday-school teachers." On the twentieth anniversary the yearbook was dedicated to three of the administration and faculty who had been on the staff since the opening of the school. This is the last year that the dedication included more than one person. During the early years the dedication was always to "Brother" or "Sister," followed by the person's full name. Beginning with 1967, the person's full name was used alone, and finally in 1974 "Mr." was used for the first time in a dedication. The students are addressed by their first names without any title. Today the brotherhood which includes all baptized believers is of less symbolic importance within the school than authority roles.

During the mid and late sixties a greater awareness of social and scientific developments in the outside world was evident. For example, the 1964 class poem instead of dealing with the typical Christian themes of dark valleys, hardships, service, steadfastness and duty, talks of events in the non-Mennonite world:

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"We've seen
the dope addict's needle.
the union boss's big stick,
the assassin's smoking rifle;
. . . . . .
We've felt
the frustration of restless juveniles,
the bitter hatred of power-hungry rebels,
the loneliness of cultural up and outs;"

And the following year that saw the Gemini moon launchings, the motto for the senior class was "Launching With a Living Christ." However, the class song compares the launching of the class not with the rocket, but with Christ by the Sea of Galilee. The student talks at the 1965 Graduate Dedication Program revolved around the theme "For Such a Time as This" and included such titles as "The Urban Expansion Call," "The Inner City Vacuum," and "The Cry of Starvation." The world outside the Christian community cannot be ignored, but it is seen in almost totally negative terms.

For 1970, which was about the peak of student demonstrations and the year of Kent State, the senior class motto was "Demonstrators of Thy Peace." There was ambivalence between urging their classmates to demonstrate peace solely by their own lives:

"The answer lies in our relationship to
Him who makes the earth good
And life to love.
Lord, may I be a demonstrator
Of thy peace," (Laurel Wreath 1970:94)

and feeling they should also speak to the world outside the Mennonite community:

"But I have an answer for peace of
how it can someday be reached.
Why don't I tell them I know?
Not sit back and just let them go.
. . . . . .
The peace that I found is for you. I
know that it works right for me.
I'll show them the right way to live.
I hear the shouts of the crowd
I live my life now to show." (Class Song 1970)

This is not a very aggressive answer to the problem, but it indicates a greater involvement in the outside world than had been characteristic earlier (See Appendix A-9).

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During the first 20 years of the school, changes were relatively small and the changes came gradually. By the mid-sixties the school was superficially more conservative than the Lancaster Conference, whose children it educated. Established patterns had been allowed to continue of their own momentum and by the late sixties there was growing discontent with some of the old practices and a decline in the enrollment. Thoughtful members of the administration and faculty were convinced of the importance of the school and also realized that some changes needed to be made. An external evaluation committee of concerned Mennonites made a study of the school. In the 25 years since it had been established, the attitude of the Mennonites of Lancaster Conference toward high school education had changed considerably. It was now generally accepted that young people would go to high school. A larger percentage of them were going on to college. Also the disciplinary power of the Bishop Board had been decreasing. This was evident both in the local congregations and in the school. The general trend from group control to individual responsibility was evident. The school had been under the direction of the Religious Welfare Committee and its own Board of Trustees who were elected by the Conference from nominations submitted by the Board of Bishops. The school itself was run by a Supervising Committee consisting of three to five men. Originally it was three men: the principal, who was a minister or a bishop and was the chairman of the committee and responsible for maintaining a Christian school and following church standards; the Dean, who was responsible for academic matters; and the Secretary-Treasurer who was responsible for the financial aspect of the school. The first two principals served for ten years each, the next principal for four years; then a man who clearly understood the need for change served for two years, followed by a two-year period of adjustment until the fall of 1971 when the present principal began serving full time and as the final authority, the one person who had full responsibility. The original Dean of the school held that position until 1969 when he served for one year as principal (1969-70) and since then has been a teacher. The Secretary-Treasurer served in that position from the opening of the school until 1973. He is now a full-time teacher. The first revision of the Constitution came in 1966 and it was quite inconsequential. One of the major changes was to increase the Supervising Committee from three to five members, and minor changes were made pertaining to the Board of Trustees. In both constitutions the Board of Trustees with the approval of the Board of Bishops could amend the Constitution in the area

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of organization of the school, but all changes "relative to principles and safeguard features shall be changed only by the consent of the Conference."

During the period of transition (1969-71) there were many changes in dress regulations; in 1969 girls were still wearing cape dresses and bonnets were worn on the senior trip to Washington. By 1970 girls did not wear cape dresses; a picture was published in the yearbook of a boy and girl on the Washington trip holding hands. Dress in general became more varied.

The year 1971 marked a big change. The new Constitution was in effect. The new principal was working; many new student activities were initiated. Symbolically, the name of the school was changed--from Lancaster Mennonite School to Lancaster Mennonite High School. This is in keeping with Goodenough's (1961) observation that when people are seeking a new identity they often choose a new name. Within the school there were also changes in naming. Instead of addressing teachers as Brother or Sister, they were addressed as Mr. or Miss; the Student Forum became the Student Council with a new name and a new constitution. The year before, the Select Chorus had become the Campus Chorale. The major changes in the March 1970 Constitution involved replacing the Supervising Committee with a single superintendent/principal and many changes in the election, composition, and organization of the Board of Trustees. Here, too, the trend was toward specialization and individual responsibility. The school is actively and finally consciously responding to the external pressures of the increasingly urbanized and interrelated complex society that surrounds it and presses in upon it. They adapt in one area, become more rigid in another, in an attempt to maintain both their sense of identity and their strong economic base.

SOCIALIZATION WITHIN THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

Recruitment of Membership

Lancaster Mennonite High School is the epitomy of an intentional community. It was conceived and organized by an ethnic group in order to help perpetuate their value system, their world view, and their way of life. It was never seen as an "open" institution but was primarily intended for the select few--those who chose and were chosen to belong. Recently in the school's history, there has been some tendency to emphasize religious

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principles over ethnic ones.

In Focus on LMH (1974) the philosophy section includes a statement that "Socially, the students are placed in a community where wholesome relationships can be cultivated in appropriate Christian activities, without regard of economic status, race or nationality." However the church membership patterns of the student body (October 1, 1973) indicate the degree of ethnic homogeneity:

Mennonite Conferences	Percentage
Lancaster	73.4
Ohio and Eastern	13.3
Conservative	1.4
Franconia	0.4
Washington-Franklin	0.4
Allegheny	0.2
Virginia	0.2
Beachy Amish	4.6
Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite	0.2
Non-Conference Mennonite	0.2
Non-Mennonites	
Brethren in Christ (greatly influenced by the Mennonites)	1.0
Old Order River Brethren (Anabaptist)	0.4
Other	4.4
Total Non-Mennonites	5.8
Total Mennonites	94.2

Only 22 of the 519 students came from outside of Pennsylvania. Of 11 students who did not complete the 1973-74 school year, five were not ethnic Mennonites. (Three were foster children who were being cared for in Mennonite homes; one was a church-sponsored Black student; one was a member of a fundamentalist church.) This does not reflect badly on the school; rather it indicates the degree to which it is an ethnic institution, a specific culture.

The school organization is fairly typical: a board of trustees, a principal with his supporting administration, a faculty, non-teaching staff, students, and parents. (See Appendix F for organizational chart.)

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The organization is different from most schools in that the Board of Trustees is responsible to the church and to a Religious Welfare Committee that counsels both the Board of Trustees and the school administrators in the area of church policy. Each level or subgroup has a different admission procedure related to its role within the culture of the school.

The Religious Welfare Committee acts in behalf of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Board of Bishops and is appointed by them. The three men on this committee are members of the Lancaster Conference Bishop Board. The committee's relationship to the Board of Trustees is symbolized by the fact that new trustees are ritually installed by the Religious Welfare Committee.

The Board of Trustees consists of one member from each bishop district in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference that chooses to be involved in the school. Each member of the Board of Trustees is elected by the ministers of the district he represents. Conferences other than the Lancaster Conference may be permitted to elect additional members to the Board of Trustees on the recommendation of the Religious Welfare Committee and the Board of Trustees. There was one representative from the Ohio and Eastern Conference on the Board of Trustees during 1973-74. The Board of Trustees elects to its membership one alumnus of Lancaster Mennonite High School from nominees supplied by the Alumni Association. The Board of Trustees may elect up to two persons with special competencies to membership on the Board. All terms are for three years. Thus, members are admitted to the Board of Trustees by election either by members of the Mennonite ministry or by the Board itself. Trustees "shall be members in good standing in the Mennonite Church in their local congregations, who have exemplified a life of faith and loyalty to the Word of God, in harmony with the Statement of Christian Doctrine and Rules and Discipline of the Lancaster Conference of the Mennonite Church. They shall also have a strong interest in the spiritual life and Christian education of the children and youth of the church and be competent for their respective tasks." (Constitution, Art. VII, Sec. 1).

The principal is the highest administrative authority in the school (there is no superintendent) and all members of the school staff are responsible to him. The same personal qualifications are required for admission of administrators and teachers to the school community as are required for the trustees. However, the means

of admission is totally different. The principal is chosen by the Board of Trustees with the approval of the Bishop Board. All other professional staff members fill out an "Application for Professional Position" (See Appendix I) and are interviewed by the principal and by the Personnel Committee, which consists of members of the Board of Trustees and two members of the Religious Welfare Committee. This committee determines if an applicant should or should not be recommended to the Board of Trustees for appointment. The principal makes the academic evaluation and a preliminary personal and spiritual evaluation of the candidate before presenting him to the committee. The principal accompanies the applicant to the interview with the committee. This committee is encouraged to make an academic evaluation but in practice their area of concern is the spiritual orthodoxy of the applicant and his general attitude toward observing and enforcing the discipline of the Lancaster Conference of the Mennonite Church and the rules of the high school.

The homogeneity of the school is indicated by the discussion of an application from a non-Lancaster Conference Mennonite. The Personnel Committee noted that the teacher "did not understand our terminology." However, even though "there were a few points on which she takes a different view than what we hold as a church in our area . . . she indicated a willingness to cooperate and an openness to learn." They decided to recommend her. She proved to be somewhat different in her outlook and chose to stay only one year. Another non-Lancaster Conference Mennonite's questionnaire called for "some explanation of a few items." One almost needs to be raised in the Lancaster Conference or at least in one of the affiliated conferences in order to be fluent in their religious terminology and symbolization--another indication of ethnicity that acts as a protection in maintaining the group. Only teachers well socialized as Mennonites are finally hired. For these individuals the hiring procedure seems reasonable and easy. Attributes of applicants that are mentioned positively are "maturity, understanding, wholesomeness, spiritual concept of the Christian faith, dedication, the kind of gift that's needed, good wholesome attitudes, a growing Christian, a committed Christian."

The academic credentials of the staff are similar to those of a good public or private school. There is an increasing emphasis on graduate degrees and on teacher certification. "The school attempts to be contemporary

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by continual curriculum revision and in its use of educationally sound curriculum materials, methods and equipment" (Faculty Handbook 1974:5). It is in the area of beliefs and lifestyle that the applicants differ from the typical teacher. Because the school is concerned with the creation of a specific environment in which to educate its children (a nurturing community--see Appendix H), the portion of the application devoted to a "Statement of Christian Faith and Doctrine" is long, detailed, and carefully scrutinized (See Appendix I).

Those teachers who are chosen and who choose to be on the staff of the school are seen to be part of the divine plan: "We believe it is in the providence of God and at His direction that you have answered the call to serve Him here" (Faculty Handbook 1974:1).

Important members of the non-teaching staff who will work closely with the students and serve as role models also fill out a questionnaire and are interviewed by the Personnel Committee. Each interview ends with a prayer. Generally the non-teaching staff is hired by the business manager. These employees are also screened for their religious commitment. For example, the cooks often spend some of their free time between the noon and evening meal singing (Mennonite) hymns in the dining room and the man in charge of maintenance "felt called to church-related work." In an interview in the Mill Stream he indicated strong religious as well as work involvement in the school (See Appendix K).

The students and parents form something of a unit for admission to the school. The school's attitude toward the parents is indicated by the use of the term "patron" for parents: the parents are both supporters and customers of the school. Ideally, and usually in practice, the home and the school work together educating the child and building his character. "As a Christian school, LMHS sees itself as an extension of the influence of the Christian home. It does not supplant the home or try to accomplish in attitude education what the home has been unable to do" (Faculty Handbook 1974:6). The administration volunteers that they can best help those children who come from homes in which the same values are encouraged as are taught in the school. Much research supports their observation (Blessington 1974:78-80, Bachman 1970, Young and McGeeney 1968).

The first point on the Admission Procedures is as follows: "Discuss and pray together as a family

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regarding whether or not LMH is the school to which the Lord would have you apply." There are criteria for parents and criteria for students. Significantly, the criteria for parents are stated ahead of those for students. The Admissions Committee (Minutes, 12/9/71) indicated that the school desires students whose parents "(1) are actively sharing Christ with family and friends, (2) have positive, open communication with their children, (3) believe in and are willing to support Christian education, and (4) are willing to cooperate with the school's administration of the educational processes." They desire students who "(1) are growing Christians or are not hostile to Christian values, (2) respect their parents and communicate with them, (3) are emotionally stable, (4) are willing to submit to the discipline and authority of the school, (5) personally desire a Christian education, (6) are within the normal limits of IQ, and (7) are law-abiding citizens and have respect for authority." On the Application for Admission the student is asked, "Are you applying for admission to LMH of your own free choice?" and "Are you willing to comply with the rules of the school?"

Each parent, individually, must sign the following statement: "My signature below signifies that (1) I have read the statements of my child on the application; (2) I want my child to have a Christian education but I am not forcing him to attend Lancaster Mennonite High School; (3) I shall be supportive of the school's standards and disciplinary procedures and I recognize the right of the school to dismiss any student who does not cooperate satisfactorily; and (4) I am committing myself to support the school with finances and prayer." However, this is not a one way, authoritarian relationship; not only do the applicant and the parents sign, but the principal also signs a statement of responsibility: "The members of the school staff recognize their responsibility to work in cooperation with the home and the church to provide a Christian education for the student. If this student is admitted to Lancaster Mennonite High School, I pledge for the staff that he will be treated with fairness, firmness, and love, and that he and his family will be supported in prayer." Within the school community roles are carefully delineated and conscientiously followed.

After the prospective family have had five or six forms filled out and returned to the school, an interview is arranged. The forms include Application for Admission, Release for Medical Treatment, Pastor's Recommendation, Health Record (filled out by family physician) and, when applicable, a Dormitory Application

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and an Application for Student Aid. One of these forms is designed for pastors, who are asked such questions about the applicant as: "Is he/she a Christian? If so, describe his commitment and spiritual growth. If not, what is his attitude toward Christianity? What are his/her attitudes toward the church? What are your observations concerning home relationships? Are there personality or emotional problems the school should be aware of? If so, describe."

At least two people conduct the interview with the parents and the applying student. The interviewers generally consist of one member of the Board of Trustees and one member of the administration or teaching staff. The interview begins with prayer followed by general background informational questions. Then they ask the prospective student why he chose LMH, what he thinks LMH is trying to accomplish and if he can work with LMH standards if they are different from those he is used to in his home and in his congregation. After about 15 or 20 minutes one of the interviewers takes the student on a tour of the building, during which he is asked how he feels about attending LMH and how his parents feel about it. The interviewer also asks him what is happening in his spiritual experience, if he feels assured of salvation, and if he has meaningful devotions. The other interviewer talks to the parents. They are asked how they feel about their child attending LMH, and how he feels; whether there is anything the school should know about the child; does he cooperate at home; and how would the parents describe his spiritual experience at this point? Sometimes the family is asked if they have regular daily devotions. The student may be asked to tell about an "experience in your walk with Christ which has been meaningful to you." He may also be asked where he goes for help with problems in his spiritual life. And parents may be reminded that the tuition is $200 less than the actual cost and asked if they will be able to make free-will gifts. Academic details are covered by the transcripts and are not discussed in the interview.

The student and family are told that they will be notified within a week. The interviewers fill out a Report on the Family Interview for the admissions committee that covers such items as their testimony of salvation, their Christian growth, church and family relationships, finances, reasons for application, etc. (See Appendix J for a copy of the Report on Family Interview). The final point is the recommendation. The importance of the family as well as the student is indicated by

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the wording: "Should this family and the child(ren) be accepted at LMHS?" The parents as well as the children become a part of the school community.

Ritualistic Integration: The Chapel Service

The chapel service is the most explicit locus of socialization within the school community. It brings all the students and staff together at the beginning of the school year and at the beginning of each school day to reaffirm their common values, to emphasize "spiritual commitment and nurture... of the campus family" (Faculty Handbook 1974:91). Chapel functions both cognitively and emotionally to instill and strengthen accepted Mennonite values.

The movement into and out of chapel, the seating arrangements and the architectural details all reinforce the authority patterns of the school. The chapel is simple, almost barnlike in its dimensions. The ceiling is high, peaked with light wood and highly varnished supporting beams. The floor is vinyl tile. The audience sits on benches also made of light-toned, highly varnished wood that resemble pews in a church, not on individual seats such as are found in most school auditoriums. The back wall, the balcony and stage are all made of light colored wood paneling; the structural walls are of painted cinder block, faced on the exterior with brick. Painted on a tromp l'oeil scroll in letters two feet high across the back wall of the stage is the quotation "Teach me thy way, O Lord. Psalm 86:11." Its message is proclaimed over the head of the speaker, over the heads of the choruses, and above the action of the occasional play produced on the stage. There is no special area for musical instruments since no keyboard instruments (organs or pianos) may be played in the chapel. The chapel is lighted by high, almost square, prefabricated, metal framed windows and hanging church-style chandeliers with incandescent bulbs. Other than the painted scripture verse and perhaps the chandeliers there is no decoration either architectural or added. The congregation and the Word are all-important.

Following early morning announcements over the intercom system the students walk in single file from their first period classrooms; the teacher follows his class and each room enters the chapel through the prescribed door in the appointed order. As the teacher passes the school secretary he hands her the absentee list from his class. The students are seated from the

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front to the back of the chapel with student ushers directing them to their seats, eight students to a bench. Each faculty member sits with his class, which he has shepherded to the chapel and after the service will lead back to the classroom. Classroom teachers who do not have first period classes "are asked to sit on the rear seats of the auditorium and to remain there for control purposes until most students have left the room" (Faculty Handbook 1974:90). Other members of the staff sit in the balcony (students are not allowed there). The principal and songleader sit on the platform and the principal introduces the speaker or the program. If the program does not end with a prayer, the principal always prays before dismissing the assembly. An example of a typical prayer is as follows: "Let's take another moment for prayer. Father, we thank you for the ministry of Mr. Miller among us this past semester and we ask your blessing upon him as he continues to serve you in the places to which you call him, and we ask your blessing upon Mr. Rice as he accepts new responsibilities and upon those teachers who are filling in to take some of his classes. Thank you that when there is a need in the work of your kingdom, you provide people to carry those responsibilities and thank you that you also supply the strength to do so. Thank you for the student body and the confidence we can have in them that as Christians they will carry forward the work of this school in their own right and cause it to bring glory to you. In Jesus' name. Amen" (1/28/74).

Everything is simple, yet highly structured. The teachers sit among their students, but the students are also bounded (and supervised) by staff members who sit in front of them on the platform, behind them at the back of the chapel, and watch over them from the balcony. There is not supposed to be any talking while entering the chapel or waiting for the program to begin. Generally one of the students informally starts a hymn and the students sing while things get underway. In addition to the "spontaneous" singing, one or more announced hymns from the Mennonite Hymnal (1969) are always sung as a part of the program.

A visitor's impression of the students is that they are basically well disciplined and attentive, but in a relaxed way, and there is some tendency to be quietly uncooperative and to manipulate the system. There is, in fact, some talking as the students enter the chapel and wait for the program to begin. The singing seduces the whisperers to join in the hymn and become part of

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the larger, total group. It also masks the noise of those who continue to talk. Occasionally singing will not start and the whispering grows into quiet talking. When this happens, the staff becomes uncomfortable and generally one of the teachers who is sitting with the students (it would be inappropriate for a staff member seated on the platform), starts a well known, popular hymn. In spite of the fact that students leave their classrooms in single lines and in a prescribed order, in the halls between the classroom and the entrance to the auditorium there is some jockeying of positions and friends and even certain couples manage to fall in line in such a way that they can sit together. Students, especially the older boys, express their lack of interest or dissatisfaction with the chapel message by their sitting posture. They may slouch down in the bench propping their knees on the front bench with the hymn book, or they may lean forward with their elbows on their knees and put their face in their hands so they can sleep--the main thing being that they don't look at the speaker and by their body posture, not by noise, indicate their lack of interest. The students as a group may occasionally clap at inappropriate places or clap too long. Clapping in chapel is a relatively new development. During the early days of the school most of the chapel talks were given by the principal who was also a bishop; later they were always given by ordained men, and it is only recently--since chapel has become more varied--that clapping has come in. Clapping sometimes embarrasses the staff--especially when they feel it is inappropriate. The students know this and use it. The only students who were observed to respond individually with loud laughter or comments during chapel were minority students who formerly attended city schools. Usually this disruption is ignored by everyone, although occasionally a speaker has responded to it. One time a student laughed raucously. The speaker, a bishop and a former teacher at LMH, paused for about five seconds, looked at her sternly, and then said, "Shame on you." The students were startled. Several months later a bishop from a metropolitan Mennonite district commented during chapel, "It has been said that black is beautiful; well, that's fine." One of the minority girls responded, "Amen." The faculty members on the platform seemed somewhat uncomfortable about the unplanned exchange, but the speaker smiled and answered, "Thank you for that Amen." Disruption is rare and usually minimal; in most instances the speaker ignores it or pauses, looking disapprovingly at the student or students who are behaving unseemly.

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Students attend approximately 180 chapel services a year and the basic contents of the messages have remarkable similarity. The students appear to "turn off" the preacher-type voice and presentation. They respond to anecdotes, to personal illustrations, to fellow students, and especially to song services, where the whole school sings together. They are good singers. The accapella singing in four-part harmony, unaccompanied by any musical instruments, fills the chapel. All the students actively participate. One girl expressed the general feeling, "Today in chapel there was a singing service. I can really get involved in music, especially when I am singing. For me, it is the best way of worship." Even when worshipping with song, the words take precedence over the music in importance. Students are sometimes told that it is wrong to sing words they do not believe. "Now, if you really mean it, I want you to mean it this morning and say to God, 'Fully surrendered, Lord, Divine, I will be true to thee, All that I have is thine . . . .' Stay sitting just where you are and if you can't sing it honestly, don't sing it. And if you want to sing it, sing it and mean it" 3/8/74). "The Word" is central to Mennonite worship and singing is primarily worship. Therefore, it is not surprising that words are considered so important and that music unrelated to words is somewhat suspect. There is ambivalence about instrumental music and elaborate vocal music. The Choraleers, a singing group led by the music teacher at LMH and composed of juniors, seniors, and recent graduates, present programs in various churches and, in the summer, tour the country, traveling as far as Central America. Although these programs are essentially musical, the words of the songs and the dialogue that connects the songs are of primary importance. Hymns sung in chapel are generally chosen for their words. One song service began with the line, "Come, let us all unite to sing, God is love," (12,5/73) and another similar service opened with the line, "Come, we that love the Lord, and let our joys be known; Join in a song with sweet accord" (2/6/74).

The importance of chapel as an integrating ritual, on a different level than everyday assignments and classes is indicated by the fact that all-school announcements are not made in chapel, although they could more easily be made there than over the intercom into the homeroom. These announcements refer to such mundane affairs as schedule changes, time of soccer games, that this is the last day to buy tickets for senior banquet, that juniors and seniors should sign up for their class portraits, etc. Chapel is for worshipping, for reminding

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members of the school community of their relationship to the deity, to the community and to each other. It is a place to be reminded of ultimate values and general human relationships. The message is for everyone, not for a specified few.

Chapel reinforces the belief in the brotherhood of the students, faculty, families, and alumni and their responsibility and caring for one another. Thus, the principal will announce important events to the assembled community. A graduate of two years earlier, whose brother was still at LMH, had called the principal to tell him that she had to have her leg amputated and she would like the students to pray for her. Not only did they have a minute in which each student could pray individually, but the principal led a prayer for her and the next day in chapel it was announced that the operation had been successful and the students were told how she felt. Similarly the students are told when someone's mother dies, a family member is seriously hurt, or a member of the school community is to be operated on. The total school is told of each event and prays for their schoolmate, faculty member or family member. They know the important happenings in the lives of those in the school community and those who wish can participate in these happenings through prayer.

Chapel is used to encourage specific behavior that facilitates the smooth running of the school and makes personal relations more pleasant. Quotes from a chapel talk illustrate behavior that will be rewarded by God: ". . . confessed cheating even when there was little likelihood they would be discovered, refused to be involved in vandalism or to protect those who were, returned the song book quietly to its rack, took punishment without becoming hostile to those who had discovered or punished their wrongdoing, erased marks on desks rather than deepening a groove, did not clap at inappropriate times in chapel even though others did, started songs as students entered chapel, kept quiet in chapel when others were talking, did not neglect their schoolwork to hold down a job they didn't really need, got up early to milk cows, deliver papers, etc., and still managed to stay awake in class, thanked the cooks for a good dinner, forgave a teacher or bus driver or another student who misjudged them and blamed them unfairly" (See Appendix R).

Chapel is also used to discourage specific unacceptable behavior. Another teacher speaking in chapel listed some of the wickedness God saw at the school:

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"There was destruction of school property, there was carving on desk tops, flooding of lavatories, showing disrespect for those in authority, smoking, swearing, lying, cheating, filthy communication, self-abuse, as well as other sins too numerous to mention--a general catch-me-if-you-can attitude prevailed" (See Appendix Q). Both in encouraging good behavior and discouraging bad behavior supernatural sanctions are used: "God will reward" and "God saw wickedness."

Chapel functions to encourage certain attitudes and willingness within the school community. For example, in the principal's prayer quoted on page 82, staff members who are taking on new responsibilities are indirectly encouraged, praised and thanked. "Thank you [Lord] that when there is a need in the work of your kingdom, you provide people to carry those responsibilities and thank you that you also supply the strength to do so" (1/28/74). And the students are urged, indirectly, to be helpful and cooperative. "Thank you [Lord] for the student body and the confidence we can have in them that as Christians they will carry forward the work of this school in their own right and cause it to bring glory to you." Public prayer is used to direct the students and teachers along the accepted path.

Chapel emphasizes the brotherhood aspects of the Mennonite faith by allowing teachers and students to function as equals in the song services, in giving testimonies, asking for help, and in making religious commitments. Brotherhood is also encouraged by teachers telling of their personal life and fears and troubles. This also, in Kanter's (1968) analysis, is an indication of the lack of privacy and may be a specific type of mortification characteristic of commitment groups. A teacher said to the students, "I felt guilt as I thought on the Beatitudes and realized where I didn't deserve blessing" (See Appendix R). "I remember with some pain the colleague at another institution who convinced me that I was a lousy administrator, lousy human relations person and not much good for anything" (10/4/73). "I used to get very frustrated and irritated with students very quickly and this is something I've been trying to work at the past couple months . . . I just want to say to the students, thank you for putting up with me" (3/8/74). An example of the lack of emotional privacy would be one faculty member talking with another on the chapel platform. "A few weeks ago I came walking into the faculty room and you were talking on the telephone and you had a sweet way of talking--

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it was almost naughty nice" (2/13/74), and another speaker in passing admits to tears, "My wife says, 'Don't cry, it's only a tree'" (3/6/74). This type of brotherhood relationship is not threatening to the authority patterns, for, as Sugarman points out, "Similarity of their [teacher and student] values means that social distance is not necessary in order to preserve the required professional integrity of the teachers" (1973:172). This unifying effect of similar values is recognized in the Faculty Handbook. After stating that the preferred form of address is Mr., Miss, Mrs., or Ms. for those who prefer the latter, it goes on to say, "The use of 'Brother' or 'Sister' is not objectionable, particularly if one wishes to denote equality rather than respectful distance" (1974:55). The use of these fraternal terms had been observed between certain faculty members and certain students in particular situations in which the teacher and/or student is indicating a sense of "being of one mind" or is striving for a feeling of spiritual unity and brotherhood.

Chapel is a time for teaching, for explanations, for illustrations, for developing enthusiasm. Basic beliefs are never questioned or examined. The Mennonite world view is the only view presented. Commitment is stressed: commitment to God, to Jesus, to the Anabaptist tradition, to "a people," to the Mennonites, to the church, and to the school. And somehow these all become one.

A belief in absolutes is taught. There is right and there is a wrong. "He [God] has told us in so many ways that there are choices to make. For instance, we have light and darkness; we have righteousness and unrighteousness; we have good and evil; we have wise and foolish; and you could go on and make lists as extensive as you might like and all of these show to us that there is very little middle ground, if any" (5/14/73 See Appendix Q). "In my home there were absolutes and there was discipline and I thank God for this" (1/11/74). "What is new and tragic is that men are saying there are no laws. There are no roots; there is no way to walk; there are no absolutes. God says there are and this morning the appeal is that our roots might grow in Him" (3/6/74). Chapel helps elevate the group to a level of the sacred that can "provide a sense of rightness, certainty, and conviction" (Kanter 1968:514).

Controversy is avoided in chapel. The last place a controversy will be discussed is in chapel, and only

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when the "right" course of action has been decided upon will an issue be presented in chapel. There can be discussion in the classrooms, in the halls, in meetings; but in chapel people should be of one mind; they should be unified and sharing, not disagreeing. When there was considerable concern about where and how the American flag should be displayed, months of discussion ensued and it was decided that after a decision had been made it would be presented to the school in a chapel service.

The Mennonites are supremely law abiding and even supportive of some aspects of civil religion (Bellah 1967), such as their belief that our nation stands under higher judgment. But they generally distrust nationalism as secular, temporary (not of eternity), and tending towards an arrogance of power. There is ambivalence about the flag, partially because it symbolizes nationalism. (There is also ambivalence about using the physical symbol of the cross.) They love their land, their country, and pray for their leaders but fear militarism which to them is also symbolized by the flag. Drawn on the flag that stood in the entrance vestibule of the school was a small, unobtrusive peace symbol. I doubt that any staff member was aware of this desecration, but someone had tried in his own way to negate one symbol with another. When the school first opened, the flag pole, erected by the Episcopalians who built the school, stood in front of the main building. A member of the Board of Trustees noticing the flag pole at the center of the new Mennonite school, went home and got his saw. The next morning a martin house was on top of the pole and each spring birds flew where previously the flag had flown. God's creation replaced a worldly symbol.

Related to the avoidance of controversy is the muting of competition. There are very few school-wide elections: the editors of the school publications are appointed and most officers are elected by individual classes. However, the president of the student council is elected by all the students. How are they given visibility? How can all the students know them in order to decide for whom to vote? The solution has been that there will be no campaigns nor campaign speeches, but that the two candidates for president (always boys) will each present a speech in chapel. At the conclusion of the speeches, in spring of 1973, the retiring student council president said, "As you can see, I maybe should have said it before, these were not campaign speeches but talks for whatever they wanted to talk about this morning--that's what they talked about.

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We don't feel that it's necessary for someone to get up here and make a big spiel about what I can do and what no one else can, because I think you have your ideas of what these people can do" (5/14/73). And the next year, in the spring of 1974, the then-retiring student council president told the students, "I want to say that personally I really feel attached to both of these fellows. I'm not here just trying to brag them up, but I mean, it's something that so often we find in our public schools we have the big speeches saying what all I can do and I'm the best, vote for me. In this case, we don't have this. It's all put in God's will and God's hands, and both of them had decided that they both want on student council" (5/3/74). Both years one of the "campaign" speeches was about evolution and that things "don't just happen by accident" (See Appendix O and Appendix P). The avoidance of controversy and the muting of competition can be seen as examples of impulse control, and as prohibiting latent conflict that could be destructive to the group (Siegel 1970).

The Bible is always presented as relevant to each person present, as relevant to the school, and as relevant to the world today. In chapel (as contrasted with classes) it is not presented as history or as literature but as the Word of God, authoritative for each person's life. The Bible message is interpreted as relevant and applicable to the school. "They [the heroes of faith (Hebrews 11)] without us at LMHS in 1974 shall not be made perfect" (3/5/74). "Father, thank you for sending Jesus, and Jesus, thank you for dying for me, and thank you for dying for all the faculty and for all the students at LMH. You've given your life for us; today we give our lives to you. Help us to this end" (2/11/74). The Bible is made more relevant by a type of rewriting illustrated by a teacher's chapel address on "The Creation of LMHS" (See Appendix Q) and also student assignments such as "Jo Jo" (See Appendix M), an updating of the story of the prodigal son in which a Beachy Amish student writes about an Amish boy who runs away from home, gets into drugs, serves a jail sentence, and finally returns home to a welcoming father. Similarly, the Bible is personalized by retelling it in local speech. A bishop was repeating the story of the wedding and the wine (John 2), "So the mother of Jesus came to Jesus and said, 'The wine got all; too many people came'" (3/8/74).

Jesus and God are not presented as abstractions, as spirits, as concepts, but as real persons with whom one

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can have a personal relationship. "Christianity is first of all a relationship to a person" (3/6/74). The Christian takes his problems to Jesus, talks over decisions, seeks help from Him, in both big and little things. It can be a friendly, often informal, relationship. "I was going to preach one morning on the holy spirit, but I told God Monday morning I'd stay with Colossians 2 just as long as he wanted me to" (3/8/74). "When I was sitting back there, the Lord told me to come up and say something. I said, I'm no senior, what do you want me to say? 'Just praise my name'" (5/30/74). God also speaks through other persons. A visiting minister speaking to a Bible class said, "Dad talked to me about her. God talked through Dad."

The Devil is also more than an abstraction of evil. One has to be on guard not to open "the door for the devil to sneak in and to do his damaging works in various ways" (10/15/73). The Christian must put "on the whole armour of God--the belt of truth" and at all times "carry the faith as a shield" if he is "to stay free from the evil one" (from a student speech in chapel written for presentation at the Christian Fine Arts Contest, titled "Beware of the Evil Powers"). This same student speaker warned of "the danger of trying to exorcise a demon, which is the removal of the external spirit because you are dealing with powers that are above human control. A person who exorcises demons must have a vital relationship with God as well as a strong character and faith." Although 97 percent of the students and parents and 92 percent of the teachers believe in Satan as a personal devil active in the world today, there is considerable ambivalence and a variety of beliefs about exorcism. The story, "A Vision of Apocalypse," in a book edited by am LMH English teacher (Good 1974) is indicative of this ambivalence. Most members of the school community would agree with the typical chapel speaker that the devil uses various tools for his nefarious works, such as pride, hatred, envy, jealousy, stealing, etc., and that his most valuable tool is discouragement (3/9/74). Over 95 percent of the students and parents believe that the Christian must be very careful not to get caught in the "snares" of the devil. In a class exercise one student described the devil as "someone who when you look at their eyes they are full of hate, trickiness, piercing --able to look right through you. Sort of a loud mouth but sly in the way he talks. Hard, big hands that you should hate to have touch you." Another student wrote, "When I think of the devil I think of a very huge,

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vicious creature. One that sits on a smoking throne amidst black curdling yells for mercy. The cries never seem to bother him but instead he seems to love pain and misery. I see him as having a bloody pitchfork in one hand and having a murderous hatred for me as a Christian." The devil acts in different ways: "He picks at us a little at a time until we give in to him. Sort of like pulling at us and most of the time we aren't strong enough to kick him away so we give in." He is "harsh, quick in his work, having no consideration at all," and "I see him coming to us here on earth with a very appealing nature, bent on deceiving us" (See Appendix L for more essay descriptions and for student drawings of the devil). The reality of the devil contributes to the high level of anxiety that these Mennonite students exhibit in common with other defensive groups (Siegel 1970).

The students at LMH are extremely goal oriented and this goal orientation is constantly reinforced in chapel. Not only does each Christian have an ultimate goal of achieving life everlasting, but there are many goals along the way. One must always be on the right path, traveling in the right direction, and acting for the right reasons. "You know if we don't come [to college] with a goal then perhaps we have wasted our money" (12/12/73). "Set a goal and work steadfastly toward its attainment. It is true that if we do not plan where we are going--if we set out for nowhere we will probably arrive there. If we are not sure where we are going, we will not gain the goal that we wish. . . . Let us work steadfastly toward the achievement of whatever goal we set for ourselves" (2/18/74). Although competition is minimized there is a problem with cheating and this is related, I suspect, to the strong goal orientation. Teachers do not grade on a curve ("It bothers my liver."). Teachers believe it is wrong to pit one student against another; and that there are absolutes. There are correct and incorrect answers; number scores have letter equivalents. Even a student who would not cheat for himself may help another student. The value of helping comes into conflict with the rule that one is to do his own homework or his own paper. The students care very much about their grades and consider them to be fair indices of how closely they have come to achieving their academic goals.

Chapel reinforces the belief that God has a plan for each Christian's life. Ninety-eight percent of the parents, 91 percent of the students, and 89 percent of

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the teachers agreed with the statement, "I believe God has a divine plan for my life." The students are taught that it is the individual's responsibility to be sensitive to God's leading and to follow the plan God has established for his life. In fact, 91 percent of the parents believe that "the goal of Christian education should be to help a person understand God's will for his life." (Seventy-eight percent of the teachers and 75 percent of the students agree with this.) Mennonites teach a belief in free will. This belief is held by 98 percent of the teachers, 94 percent of the parents, and 79 percent of the students. Because the individual has freedom of the will he may choose to follow God or not to follow God. "The highest act of my free will is to surrender it to the perfect will of God" (3/8/74). The question most frequently asked the Bishop by the students during Christian Growth Week (March 1974) was, "How am I to know God's will for my life?" And a member of the Religious Welfare Committee told the students that he hesitated a long time before accepting an offer. "I was fearful lest if I would answer this call to help at a new mission church that I might somehow frustrate his [God's] plan for my life" (12/10/73). One of the speakers during National Career Guidance Week reminded the students that "each of us has a calling from God" (11/13/74). They should discover God's will for them, explore God's will for them, and adventure in God's will for them in order that they might be effective in the use of their gifts in a career. In his daily life, in his religious life, and in his career the Christian should follow God's plan for him.

The importance of the group, of the community, of a people is illustrated in many ways. The importance of caring for one another, of sharing one's feelings and one's possessions, and of being essential to the group and dependent on the group are frequently expressed. In some ways the group is deified in that it is of God: "If we got together as a community of God, His people . . ." (1/7/74). Thus one can confess to God in private and one can also confess to God in a group context. During testimonies the individual shares concerns with the group in much the same way he shares in private prayer. "As I decide to follow Christ I become a part of the people of God--become a part of that community. I think we need each other to share problems and joys, to strengthen each other, to challenge each other in love . . . . Perhaps we even need to confess our sins to each other and find healing as suggested in the scriptures, realizing that the people of God really are

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a forgiving community through which love and forgiveness of God can flow" (3/20/74).

During the course of this study two books were published by an English teacher at the school--both referred to the concept of a people. These People Mine was written for the Ninth World Mennonite Conference and People Pieces is a collection of short stories by Mennonites presented to "help us better understand the comings and goings of our precious faith and community, our people, and our changing way of life" (Good 1974:12). Many of the episodes illustrate traditional Mennonite values. An extreme statement of the importance of community is a motto that is seen at a nearby Mennonite-managed tourist attraction and also at the school: "He who has no people has no GOD."

In addition to the support the group can offer the individuals, the group can also be used to pressure the individual into accepted behavior. During a chapel message on social evils such as smoking, drinking and extramarital sex, the speaker said, "For the first invitation I would hope that every student could respond. I'm not saying you must; I'm simply giving you an invitation this morning to dedicate your life and body to God. You may respond; you need not respond. I'd like you to respond like this. I'm going to read a pledge. If you would like to take this pledge, I would like you to stand just where you are and repeat this pledge after me . . . . Now I hope that every student would want to take it, but I'm not saying you need to. You simply may remain seated where you are and we will respect you for your honesty. I'm simply saying those of you who want to take this pledge now may stand. Will you stand? This is the pledge: Dear Lord, I this day pledge and dedicate my life and body to you. I will by thy grace keep myself pure in thought, speech, and action" (3/7/74). The next day the evangelist referred to those students who remained seated, "Some of you were honest; others simply stayed sitting to say, 'Look where I am'; God knows about that . . . . I am concerned that the ones that the Lord would have speak this morning would have freedom to speak, that the devil might be rebuked as he would endeavor to hinder this" (3/8/74). Group pressure, authority, and supernatural involvement are all used to elicit desired behavior.

The chapel messages minimize the individual and maximize the group--whether the group be "Christians," the church, the school or whatever. The messages, especially during Christian Growth Week develop a sense

of guilt in the individual with a ritualized opportunity to release the guilt at the end of the week. There is always some resistance on the part of the students, especially the boys who, for example, will not bring their Bibles to chapel and who will feign disinterest, look skeptical, or appear to sleep. One student said, "I just figured, well, it's just going to be a week of extra long chapels" (3/8/74). However, during the course of the week interest generally grows. On the last day of Christian Growth Week in the spring of 1973 the visiting pastor invited both students and faculty to fill out cards with "those statements that represented what God had said to them that week about living more fully His will. Placing the cards on the altar was committing themselves to the Lord to be 'consumed' as a sacrifice for His glory" (Letter 6/8/73). The final portion of his sermon can be paraphrased as follows: "This part of the service is completely voluntary. It is not what others do, not what is expected of you, but what is the will of God for you. Walk up and place yourself on the altar. Simply obey the Lord. (Pause) Come forward . . (Pause) . . Place it on the altar . . (Pause) . . This is a special prayer just for you . . (Pause) . . We're not judging those who do or don't come forward" (3/9/73). The first person to go forward was a teacher who had taught for many years at the school. Among the members of the staff who joined the quiet orderly students walking to the lectern were an ordained minister and a member of the administration. The congregation sang "O Master, Let Me Walk With Thee." About half of the audience placed a card on the altar. About a third of those responding dedicated themselves or their life to God, about 25 percent of them indicated an acceptance of God's will, and about one-fifth mentioned personal relationships. Attributes that they handed over to God were self, thoughts, pride, language, jealousy, self-centeredness, anger, my body, hurt, evil desires, disrespect, laziness, and lack of control. Many mentioned attitudes, depression, tenseness, and problems. Some dedicated time and money and one his car.

Some examples of specific statements are, "I give you my depression. I give you my future. I give you my all. Each day will be yours." "God, I want you to control my life." "Lord, I too many times try to run my life on my own. I try to find my own life companion. I want you to take me and use me for you." "I am claiming the virtue of forgiveness so that I can have a loving attitude toward my father and brother even when they hurt me and I think I should have a right to get mad. Really, I don't have a right to do anything."

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"Dear God, forgive me for the way I treat my family. Help [me] to love each member. Empower [me] with thy spirit to conquer that sex sin. Thank you, Jesus!" "God, I've made a million and one commitments before--and I always thought it would be different, but it never was. Help me, one more time. It'll be a struggle, God. But please, help me push me out of the way and put you in the way."

The most outstanding, single theme expressed almost daily in chapel services is the need to be submissive, to realize that "you can't run your own life, you need a master" (3/9/73), that you can't do it by yourself, "God was there" (4/11/73). "God says, 'Turn over the steering wheel of your life to me and you will be happy, and I'll give you more than you ever had before; more than you can even imagine'" (9/18/73). The Bible teacher, in his sermon on LMH (See Appendix Q) describes Cain's unacceptable offering as "self-assertion." However, there is a tension established between the need to do away with pride, to realize one's personal inadequacies, and the need to be a contributing member of the group, a witness for the group; and being able to be strong enough to maintain a commitment and to stand steadfast against the world. The individual can do this only with supernatural (and group) help. "We are talking about training for a lifestyle, training that will help you to become a better person, a better witness, more involved in the church" (12/12/73). "There is no place, there is no room in the Christian church, in the Christian brotherhood for second-rate service. There is no person who has a second-rate gift. You have a first-rate gift; God designed it for you because he made you knowing your personality and all the circumstances surrounding your being. He has designed your gift just like the manufacturer designs the motor for the compact as well as the motor for the Continental. They fit together" (11/13/73). One's God-given gifts enable one to function (as the group dictates) without pride, for one's gifts are God's, not one's own. This teaching would be illustrative of Kanter's (1968:510-511) control commitment mechanism in which the individual sees himself as "humble and helpless without the group [God]," needing to "reformulate his identity in terms of meeting the ideal conditions set by the system," and needing to attach "his decision-making prerogative, jurisdiction over even private domains, to a greater power." Clearly much of the chapel message is concerned with "removing the individual's sense of self-determination" and substituting "the guidance and meaning provided by the organization" (Kanter 1968:12). Chapel functions on

many levels to create and reinforce a high degree of commitment among the members of the school community.

Enculturation: The Classroom

"The educational philosophy of Lancaster Mennonite High School is based on an understanding of God's will, revealed in the divine, authoritative, inspired Word which becomes the ultimate guide and highest authority for the Christian" (Faculty Handbook 1974:3). "The student is confronted with the claims of Christ in a program of teaching based on the Word of God." In addition "the school provides an opportunity for development of loyalty to the Anabaptist heritage, with respect for the Mennonite Church and its ideals." Because the Mennonite faith demands a life style as well as a creed, a belief that one's world view permeates all of living, Mennonitism influences the teaching of every subject. The staff not only is aware that values permeate all of teaching, affecting both the content and the method of almost every course, they actively work to incorporate value education into their program. "One of the most important tasks of the Christian teacher is the integration of academic work and of daily life with the Word of God" (Faculty Handbook 1974:69). Our observations indicate that most teachers conscientiously attempt this integration.

From these quotations it is obvious that although the administration states that "the mutual quest for truth is best served where intellectual curiosity and academic freedom can interact" (Faculty Handbook 1974:4), boundaries are placed on intellectual questioning, if not curiosity. In areas of seeming conflict the final authority is not scientific authority, nor the good of the nation, nor the good of the individual, nor the suggestion that more data is needed; but rather the final authority is the Bible, particularly the New Testament, as interpreted by the Mennonites. This authority is beyond question. Therefore there cannot be complete intellectual freedom. In most secular high schools the concept of intellectual freedom, though given lip service, is at least as bounded--and less honestly and openly bounded. In few high schools are students really free to question monogamy, the laws of incest, the foundations of patriotism, the profit motive, our legal system, or democracy (Henry 1963, Erickson 1969). The unstated limitations can be much more destructive to the development of the individual than are explicitly stated "holy" areas, and in Scheler's (1961) terms, this

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vagueness can lead "to the constant tendency to indulge in certain kinds of value delusions and corresponding value judgments." The Mennonite students are taught how to make certain value judgments and what is the source and authority for these judgments.

One of the reasons for the uncertainty and unease of our educational systems in general is a lack of consensus, that is, an absence of agreed priorities and values. In today's pluralistic world, values must be discovered that prevail across disciplines, cultures, classes, and nations. Mennonite Christianity can form the basis of consensus for LMHS. Christianity, as interpreted historically, is too narrow to fill this function in today's international, intercultural, secular world. Unrelated to which specific values are taught, it is of intellectual and practical interest to explore how patterns of valuation are shaped by institutions, what can be brought to the curriculum that will help students to greater awareness of the values they live by, and the grounds for the ascendancy of these values in preference to all others (Mack 1974). These aspects of value development can be looked at in the microcosm of a single school or a single classroom.

We are looking at the explicit values that are taught in the school, the beliefs verbalized, and at the behavior of members of the school community; for as Melford Spiro (1951:34) wrote, "Behavior, though perceived as a series of responses, is always based on a system of values." In the classroom values are explicitly stated by the teacher and by the students; they are taught by using illustrations that imply certain values; they are taught by using assumed values as explanations; and they are taught implicitly by example and by method. They are taught consciously by the teachers who discuss among themselves what values they feel should be expressed in their own subject areas. Discussions among the departmental faculty and among teachers and their English classes led to the following list of values. (It is interesting that the instructional leader marked the values added by the students and that these were the least abstract values.)

"Values to Be Expressed in English and Fine Arts

1. Self-discovery as a creative way of learning to appreciate oneself and one's gifts, as gifts.
2. Honesty, as opposed to parroting back what I've said as a teacher; that is, saying and writing only what one has understood and found meaningful when one is asked to respond.

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3. Growing love for their community and background as a Mennonite.
4. Self-acceptance and thankfulness for oneself as a person.
5. Discovery of and beginning to deal with prejudices.
6. Openness, as opposed to arrogant self-righteousness about one's own way of life.
7. Preparation for having a good deal of money as adults; looking at material wealth as a trust, not a reward; a desire to live simply.
8. An understanding that pain and suffering are not easily explained as "sin," or as something one deserved because of misbehavior.
*9. Caring for others.
10. Finding healthy or creative ways to express anger; learning that anger is not always bad.
11. Recognition of God as creator of order, beauty, and truth.
12. Awareness of being linked with all men of all times.
13. Obedience to Word of God.
14. Respect for parents and other authority.
15. Willingness to seek help outside of self.
16. Joyful living.
17. Ability and freedom to articulate one's beliefs.
18. Concept of the church as a community, the people of God.
19. Faith in a personal God.
20. Knowledge of Mennonite history and leaders, past and present.
21. Understanding of the role the church has played in shaping the history and literature of a people.
22. Freedom to confess sin.
23. Ability to laugh at oneself.
24. Recognition of and acceptance of God's order.
25. Appreciation for beauty in literature, art, music.
26. Insight into literature; ability to discover world view of author or character and contrast it with Christian world view.

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27. Developing methods in discovering truth.

28. Recognizing that truth leads to wisdom.

29. To fulfill the commandment of Jesus as a teacher: Love as I love.

30. To open minds that will lead to the art of building character, personality, stewardship, morals, a real and personal Christianity.

31. To recognize the value of music to a person, community, a church.

*32. Modesty in dress and action.

*33. Develop standards for choice of friends.

*34. Freedom to express oneself on a wider basis--inside and outside the classroom.

*35. Personal, friendly relations between teacher and student.

*36. Ability to discover and form one's own morals and values.

37. An understanding of how language is put together.

(* = student suggestion)"

The course catalog (1974-75:5) stated that in addition to the regular English skills the student was expected to develop "a Christian world view that enables him to make value judgments concerning the materials he studies and to find acceptable answers to man's recurring questions of purpose and meaning in life." In class there is a great deal of integrating of Mennonite values with the subject matter. When an English class was studying Tom Sawyer, they discussed the good aspects and the bad aspects of his character. The class decided that they would not like Tom Sawyer for a neighbor because he was "pushy, cruel, nasty, and not considerate of other people." In answering the question, "In what ways would you not like to be like Huck Finn?" some of the students volunteered, "He was lonely--he had no family," "He was superstitious--he had no religion or at least had a careless attitude towards religion," he had "an uncertain future," "No real security," "No social life with other people," and his life was full of "inconsistencies." The class decided that Huck Finn was irresponsible and that it was impossible to have a good social life if one was irresponsible. In discussing the character and the actions of Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn there was a great deal of evaluation of rightness and wrongness, and of judging the characters and their

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behavior in the light of their own Mennonite value system (11/7/72). There are varying degrees of awareness of the Mennoniteness of their standards for judging. This self-awareness is evidenced by such courses as Literature of American Minorities, in which the Mennonites are one of the minorities studied.

Even in subjects such as mathematics, religious illustrations are introduced. For example, a student describing how a mathematics teacher explained "absolute value" quoted him as saying, "Absolute values are like God. They give you a lot of freedom but only to a certain point, then you must stop. I believe we always have someone we are under authority to--namely, God." On another occasion all the logic questions on a math test had to do with Christianity. One question was, "If a person is a Christian, then he is a CO [conscientious objector] to war." The students were to write the converse of that statement and to indicate if the converse were true or false. The only acceptable answer was, "If a person is a CO to war, then he is a Christian. True." In a discussion of contrapositives the teacher quoted the Bible and then paraphrased the quotation, "If you are a Christian, then the world will hate you." He balanced this with, "If the world does not hate you, then you are not a Christian." The students were sidetracked from the study of logic to an argument about the accuracy of the second statement. Some of them did not fully agree with the statement. When reporting on the discussion one student said, "We tried to defend ourselves," but the teacher said, "You kids must not be in fellowship with the Lord because it's obvious that you do not read your Bible." The student added, "Then he evaded the issue by insisting we start class" (10/3/73). Later in the week the teacher raised the same question of whether one could be a Christian if he was not hated by the world. This time the students asked him if he had non-Christian neighbors. When he said "Yes," they asked him if they all hated him; the answer was "No." The students were sufficiently clever to juxtapose two widely held but, in this instance, conflicting Mennonite goals--to be a Christian and to be a good neighbor. They then asked the teacher to explain how he could be a Christian by his definition if his non-Christian neighbors didn't hate him. He waffled by answering, "Well, that's different. Why don't you people ask God about it, not me?" This is an extreme case of moving from subject matter to value teaching, and specifically the teaching of in-group values. Certainly, this teacher was not succumbing to "the temptation . . . to teach general

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truths about the universe without relating it to God" (Faculty Handbook 1974:69).

English and the Fine Arts can relatively easily be integrated with Mennonite religious teaching and mathematics could be taught without reference to or conflict with Mennonite beliefs. However, science can pose problems for individuals who believe the Bible to be the divinely inspired Word of God. In the course catalog for 1974-75, the section on science courses has a paragraph: "The science program inquires into God's truth as He reveals it in the natural world. We affirm that all truth is of God. Therefore, all discovery when rightly understood, proclaims God as sovereign over the physical and spiritual world." In the spring of 1974 the science and math teachers had a panel discussion in chapel dealing with the integration of science and religion (4/29/74), in which they shared their feelings of what "it means to be a Christian teacher in a Christian school in mathematics and science." As one of them put it, "We believe deeply that what we believe and teach is different from what we would do if we were atheists, or if we were agnostic or some other person." There was a general consensus that "our faith and science can work together, they're allies . . . for when science is properly understood and the Bible is properly understood, they will be in agreement." In discussing the scientific method one of the teachers contrasted science teaching at a public school with a Christian one by explaining that "we [Christians] look to God as hiding perhaps some of the knowledge from man until He allows man to discover this. . . . He knows everything, and we as Christians can realize that the source of knowledge is in His hands, and so our method that we use to look at this is a discovery approach, recognizing his full power and recognizing that he has these things in his hands." The knowledge is there to be discovered by the right person in the right time. This was illustrated by the example of George Washington Carver who got down on his knees and said, "God, what's inside this peanut?" and "Just on the basis of that request, God granted him the ability to unlock about 200 materials and boost the economy of those who were depending on the peanut for their livelihood." All true knowledge comes from God whether it is discovered by application of the scientific method or is known by revelation.

The attitude toward science was illustrated visually on the album cover of Campus Chorale '69 (Campus Chorale 1969). Campus Chorale was described as "Forty-one

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juniors and seniors [of LMHS] translating words and symbols into a living message." The drawing shows a scientist standing in front of a typical school science desk. On the desk in addition to the built-in sink and some chemical glassware are four books. The first is untitled, the next Chemistry, then Bio-Chemistry, and the last and largest is the Holy Bible. The scientist stands facing a window through which rays of light shine toward him illuminating his face and the test tube held up towards the window in his outstretched hand as an offering. He is offering his product to the light and the light is illuminating him and his work (See Appendix S).

The importance of revealed knowledge to the Christian scientist was mentioned in the chapel service (4/29/74) on teaching science, "In Christ we have the ability, the opportunity from God to gain wisdom from God in inspiration, in ideas, etc., that we probably would not otherwise get." Not only can the Christian scientist gain help (revelation) from God, but he "must allow for the existence of a body of knowledge which perhaps simply can't be gained through the methods which scientists set up. In other words, the Christian must make allowance for and take into account revealed knowledge we can obtain through the Bible, for example." Put another way, technology should be directed by wisdom.

Science is a tool and a tool can be used for good or for evil. A Christian must not use the truth he finds in evil ways. One teacher comments it would be interesting to know of actual examples of those who may have "raised their voices in judgment in the use of their contributions." Two scientists who have raised their voices, Einstein and George Wald, were not mentioned; perhaps their political activity was unknown and they certainly could not be classified as Christians by LMH standards.

Mennonite values are, in fact, incorporated into almost every subject area. At Parents' Night one of the parents asked the home economics teacher in what ways she was teaching her students to be able to create a good home where the members would live sacrificially. It is interesting that this question was asked by the wife of a teacher at LMH, and the teachers do elect to live sacrificially in that they work for a lower salary than they would receive in public school or in another occupation.

In social studies classes, values are constantly discussed and political events are looked at in the light of biblical history and a belief in God's plan. Thus, the war in the Middle East was discussed both in political terms and in the light of prophecy. The question was raised as to whether or not Golda Meir read Isaiah and was influenced by it.

During a class discussion of Ghandi and Indian independence, the students were asked to look at India and at Ghandi's life in relation to God's plan in the universe. God's plan for Ghandi was that he should work to unify the religious groups in the Indian subcontinent; had this been achieved independence would have come. "Ghandi worked against one of the greatest principles in the Bible" when he worked in the area of politics rather than religious reconciliation. "He worked for the wrong cause." Therefore his victory was hollow and although India achieved political liberty it is a divided, warring continent. This teacher's interpretation of history is supportive of the Mennonite world view: that God works in history, that God has a plan for the individual, and that evil will come from not following God's plan, and that the God-fearing person should work religiously rather than politically.

The preceding illustrations demonstrate value transmission in "secular" courses. There are also courses offered that would be considered religious in content. For example, the courses offered in Bible and Church History. Their titles indicate the range of material covered: Creative Bible Study, The Christian Church--Its History and Literature, Practical Christian Living, Christian Service Preparation (a study of methods and opportunities relative to evangelism and service), Mennonite Life and Thought, Character Studies (a study of Bible characters with primary emphasis on the major and minor prophets), History of God's People (a study of God's plan for man as unfolded through His people Israel), Life and Times of Christ, Tenets of Christian Faith.

In various instructional areas there are specific courses that deal with religion: Christian Themes in Art, Literature of the Bible, Literature of the Christian Faith, Mennonites and the Fine Arts, Comparative Religions. Other courses, though not specifically religious, include units on religion or make extensive use of religious material. The Hero and the Quest (. . . some time will be spent on these two images in

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biblical literature), Spanish Life and Culture (Studies from St. John will be included for learning to share the Gospel in Spanish), Campus Chorale (Provides opportunity for public appearances in local and more distant churches), Sociology and Literature of Social Issues (. . . surveys the nature of man, his human interactions, his societal structures and institutions), Senior Social Science (. . . biblical response to these social issues will be examined), and Current World Issues (. . . attempts will be made to interpret these happenings in light of God's Word and from a Christian perspective). These classes with specific religious content will not be analyzed in this report even though they are extremely important for cultural transmission. The tremendous amount of detail covered in these courses tends to be rather obvious, though the course content does add insight into how the school is dealing with social change. Of even greater importance than the specific courses taught at the school is that socialization in Mennonite values that takes place in every classroom, in every activity, and in virtually every encounter.

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V. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter contains a summary of the statistical data collected in the course of the study. In addition to a description of the different groups, there is a section summarizing the findings for each of the major dependent variables and a discussion of findings pertaining to social networks, personality types, and learning potential scores. The statistical analysis of the four major dependent variables (normative activities, ethnicity, orthodoxy and self-esteem) included only juniors and seniors in order to control for the effect of grade.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESEARCH GROUPS

General characteristics of the Statistical groups, such as sex, grade, demographic and background factors, including parental income, occupation, and education are displayed in Tables V-1 through V-6. The overall population is fairly well balanced in terms of sex, with 44 percent males and 56 percent females. The majority of the students (72 percent) are in the 11th and 12 grades. These grades at Lancaster Mennonite High School are usually larger than grades 9 and 10, since many students transfer to the Mennonite school either for their junior or senior year.

Table V-1. Sex of Pupils[1] by Grade

Sex	Grade 9	10	11	12	Total N=
Male	27	34	99	79	239 (44)
Female	42	52	96	120	310 (56)
Total N =	69	86	195	199	549
Percent =	(12)	(16)	(36)	(36)	(100)

[1]Miscellaneous and Non-Mennonite are excluded.

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The Ethnic and Transfer groups are scattered throughout the four high school grades (Table V-2), since they are the pupils attending the Mennonite High School. The Public group was chosen from the 11th and 12th grades as a control group for the Transfers to the Mennonite school, who are primarily in the 11th and 12th grades. The non-Mennonites in the public school were also selected from the 11th and 12th grades because of accessibility and in order to control for grade when comparing them with the Public and Transfer groups.

Table V-2. Grade by Statistical Group

Statistical Group	Grade 9	10	11	12	Total N=
Ethnic	39	75	100	130	345
Transfer	29	9	46	18	102
Public	0	2	49	51	102
Miscellaneous	8	16	18	15	57
Non-Mennonite	0	0	87	83	170
Total N =	77	102	300	297	776

Place of residence of the students, except the Non-Mennonites in the public school, is displayed in Table V-3. This question was not included for the Non-Mennonites, but judging from their fathers' occupations, it would appear that only two or three percent of them live on large farms. The Mennonite students (excluding Miscellaneous) are predominantly located on large farms, and are also scattered on small farms, plots, and villages. They are conspicuously absent from cities over 2,500. This essentially means that the Mennonites living in Lancaster County do not live in Lancaster city but are living in the rural areas surrounding the city. Some of the Miscellaneous students who attend Lancaster Mennonite High School come from urban areas, such as New York City, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia. These students account for the 15 percent Miscellaneous who live in cities over 250,000. The three categories of Mennonite students--Ethnic, Transfer, and Public--are similar in their distribution across place of residence. The striking factor is the distinctively rural orientation and the lack of residence in suburban and urban areas. For instance, only 10 percent live in surburban and urban areas, while 90 percent live in rural areas including small towns or villages under 2,500.

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Table V-3. Residence of Students by Statistical Groups: Percentage Distribution

Place of Residence	Total Mennonite N=529	Ethnic N=340	Transfer N=96	Public N=93	Miscellaneous N=53
Large farm (50 acres or more)	41	43	37	37	21
Small farm (3-50 acres)	15	12	17	23	15
Plot (less than 3 acres outside village)	23	26	19	15	23
Small town or village under 2,500	12	10	16	16	11
Suburban development	8	8	7	9	9
City--2,500 to 25,000	1	1	3	1	6
City--over 25,000	1	1	2	0	15

For purposes of comparing the ethnic school community with the general population, data from the 1970 census for the Lancaster Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area provides a baseline. The 1970 Lancaster County Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area population was 319,693 persons. The total population was divided between 57,674 persons living in Lancaster City and the remaining 262,019 persons who lived in the surburban and rural areas surrounding Lancaster City. Since the Mennonite population is predominantly rural in their place of residence, we extracted the Lancaster City data and compared the Mennonite information only with the general population living outside of Lancaster City. The educational achievements of Mennonite parents and non-Mennonite parents compared with the general population are reported in Table V-4. The parents of non-Mennonite students were higher in their educational level than the general population. For instance, 80 percent had completed high school; whereas, only 45 percent in the general population had completed high school. All of the Mennonite parents were a bit lower in educational achievement than the general population, with only 40 percent completing high school. The modal educational experience for Mennonite parents was eighth grade, which 34 percent had completed. Comparing

the three categories of Mennonite parents, it appears that the Public parents are lowest in their educational attainment. Only 28 percent have completed high school and only four percent have completed work beyond high school; whereas, 14 percent of the Ethnic parents have completed additional work beyond high school. Thus, the parents of the Mennonite students are ranked respectively in their educational level (low to high)--Public, Transfer, Ethnic.

Table V-4. Parental Education (Mothers and Fathers): Percentage Distribution

Years of Education	1970 Census N= 141,436	Non Mennonite N=336	Total Mennonite N=1,055	Ethnic N=671	Transfer N=192	Public N=192
5 - 7	8.8	0	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.0
8	24.5	4.5	34.0	32.4	34.9	38.5
9 - 11	19.8	15.0	24.1	21.2	26.0	32.3
12	30.2	60.1	28.4	30.9	24.0	24.0
13 - 15	6.0	6.6	6.6	8.2	5.7	2.1
16 +	8.9	13.8	5.5	5.8	7.8	2.1
Percent of high school graduates	45.1	80.5	40.5	44.9	37.5	28.2

Income characteristics are displayed in Table V-5. The data on income was gathered through use of the parental questionnaire, and since the parents of non-Mennonites in public schools were not interviewed, there is not available data on their income characteristics. The Mennonite parents can be compared with the general population in the 1970 census. In general terms the Mennonite income is slightly higher than that in the general population. Only 8 percent of the Mennonites had an income under $6,000; whereas, 21 percent in the general population received less than $6,000. At the upper end of the scale, 28 percent of the Mennonite parents receive incomes over $15,000; whereas, only 20 percent in the general population receive incomes above $15,000. The three categories

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of Mennonite parents are uniform in their income characteristics.

Table V-5. Parental Income Characteristics: Percentage Distribution

Income Levels	1970 Census N= 67,491	Total Mennonite N=342	Ethnic N=211	Transfer N=61	Public N=70
0 - $2,999	9	1	1	0	1
$3,000-5,999	12	7	9	5	4
$6,000-8,999	22	22	22	23	21
$9,000-11,999	24	26	27	21	28
$12,000-14,999	16	17	15	23	19
$15,000-24,999	15	21	21	20	21
$25,000-49,999	4	6	5	8	6
$50,000 +	1	1	1	0	0

The occupational structure of the Mennonite community is summarized in Table V-6. The occupational data was obtained through student questionnaires, except for the grandfathers' occupations, which were elicited from the Mennonite parents. The male occupational distribution from the 1970 census is compared with the Mennonite data. It should be noted that the student occupational preferences include both male and female. In terms of social change, the most important occupational type is farm labor and manager. Approximately 80 percent of the grandfathers of the Mennonite students were farmers; whereas, presently only 39 percent of the fathers are farmers. This compares with two percent of the fathers of non-Mennonite students who are farmers and a nine percent farming rate in the general population. Only 12 percent of the Mennonite students indicate that they prefer a farming occupation. The other critical category is professionals and technicians. Only two percent of the Mennonite grandfathers were in a professional occupation; whereas, nine percent of the Mennonite fathers are now in a professional occupation, which is slightly lower than the rate for both non-Mennonite fathers and the general census population. Interestingly, 47 percent of the Mennonite

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Table V-6. Occupation of Fathers, Grandfathers, and Student Preference: Percentage Distribution

Occupational Types	1970 Census N= 70,778	Mennonite Fathers N=516	Non-Mennonite Fathers N=164	Ethnic Fathers N=329	Transfer Fathers N=94	Public Fathers N=93	Mennonite Grandfathers N=389	Mennonite Student Preference N=469	Non-Menn. Student Preference N=157
Laborer	4	4	3	3	4	5	2	1	1
Service worker	5	2	2	2	1	2	0	6	7
Farm laborer/ manager	9	39	2	40	36	41	79	12	5
Operatives	23	11	15	10	7	17	3	2	6
Craftsmen	26	16	31	16	19	15	8	11	16
Clerical	6	2	6	2	1	2	1	10	10
Sales workers	6	5	9	5	7	4	2	1	1
Managers and administrators	9	12	18	12	17	9	3	4	3
Professionals and technicians	11	9	14	10	6	4	2	47	48

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students aspire to a professional occupation, which is very similar (48 percent) to the aspirations of non-Mennonite students. The change from farm to professional and managerial categories empirically demonstrates the rapid shift in the occupational structure of the Mennonite community. Not only is there a departure from an agricultural way of life, but increasingly Mennonite youth are aspiring (approximately half) to a professional occupation. Within one generation a considerable number of Mennonites are experiencing upward mobility in occupational prestige. This has profound implications for the patterns of life, values, attitudes, and symbols in the Mennonite culture. The high school is caught in the middle, mediating between an agrarian, agriculturally oriented constituency and a professionally aspiring student body. The school's ambivalent role in this occupational change is demonstrated by a two year faculty discussion of whether to allow students a vacation day to attend the state Farm Show or whether the vacation day should be allotted to Memorial Day. The Farm Show is of interest to farm parents whereas the professional parents prefer the vacation on Memorial Day, since it is a national holiday when the parents also have vacation.

Comparing the three Mennonite groups on occupational background, it appears that the Transfer and Ethnic categories have fathers who are involved in managerial and professional occupations to a greater degree than the Public students. For instance, 22 percent and 23 percent of the Ethnic and Transfer parents, respectively, are involved in managerial and professional occupations; whereas, only 13 percent of the Public parents are. A greater proportion of the Public parents are in agriculture and are operatives. This data is congruent with the information on educational attainment, which also suggested that the Public parents had a lower educational attainment than the Ethnic and Transfer parents.

VALUES

Conceptual Definition

In order to understand cultural transmission in the Mennonite High School it was imperative that the research design include a measure of values. It is generally accepted by social scientists that values form the core of a cultural system. Before beginning to discuss cultural transmission in the school, a description of the Mennonite value configuration was necessary.

A disparity exists among numerous attempts at defining values. Some scholars have avoided the concept of "value" because it is too ephemeral, nebulous, and inaccessible

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to observation and measurement. Others have shoved beliefs, opinions, and attitudes under the rubric of "value." Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey (1960) developed a widely used, standardized scale which measured values on six dimensions: theoretical, practical, aesthetic, social, power, and religious. Kluckhohn (1951:395) provided a sophisticated conceptual discussion and definition of "value" which has undergirded much of the recent "value" research. In his terms, a value is "a conception explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action." Four approaches to the definition of values were proposed by Adler (1956), which appear to be conceptually exhaustive: (1) absolutes existing as eternal ideas, (2) inherent in objects with the potential to satisfy needs and desires, (3) present in men, as preferences held by people, and (4) values may be conceptualized in terms of action--knowing what people do is all that can be known about what they value.

In 1961 Kluckhohn and Strodbeck made a substantial contribution to value theorizing and research with the publication of their study of Variations in Value Orientations. In their framework values organize solutions and definitions to five common human problems: human nature, man-nature, time, activity, relational.

Levitin (1970:410) sums up a review of value definitions by listing five characteristics of values: (1) telic --ultimate means and ends, (2) ethical--dealing with good and evil, (3) aesthetic--defining beauty and ugliness, (4) intellectual--how truth is to be known, (5) economic --preferences of exchange. She concludes: "The value realm consists of enduring and central clusters of beliefs, thoughts and feelings which influence or determine important evaluations or choices regarding persons, situations, and ideas. Values differ operationally from attitudes only in being fewer in number, more general, central and pervasive, less situation bound, more resistant to modification. . . . Values influence judgments and actions beyond an immediate or specific situation or goal by providing an abstract frame of reference for perceiving and organizing experience and for choosing among courses of action."

In order to provide conceptual clarity the present value formulation and research will adhere to Rokeach's (1968 and 1973) theoretical and operational scheme. His formulation is indebted to the earlier "value" theorizing cited above. For Rokeach, values "have to do with modes

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of conduct and end-states of existence. To say that a person 'has a value' is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence. . . . A value is a standard employed to influence the values, attitudes and actions of at least some others" (1968:159-160). Rokeach proceeds to distinguish between preferable modes of conduct and preferable end-states of existence, which he respectively terms "instrumental" and "terminal" values. Following his jargon, a terminal value takes the following form: "I believe that such-and-such an end-state of existence (for example, salvation, a world at peace) is personally and socially worth striving for."

Findings

Following the Rokeach procedure, respondents were asked to rank 18 terminal values in their order of importance. Values which were perceived to be most important were ranked one and the value least important was ranked 18. The comparative differences in the rank of terminal values between a national sample of adults reported by Rokeach, Ethnic parents, Mennonite teachers, Ethnic students, and Non-Mennonite students is reported in Table V-7. The median, standard deviation, and rank are reported for each value, with the exception of the national sample, where the standard deviation was not reported. Following Rokeach the median score for each value was used in lieu of the mean, since the distributions of each value do not conform to a normal model, but are skewed. Hence, the median is a more reliable measure of rank than the mean.

The centrality of religion in the Mennonite culture is clearly evident by the fact that teachers, students, and parents all ranked salvation as the most important value. This contrasts with the Non-Mennonite students who ranked it 16 and with the national adults who placed it in the seventh position. It is important to note that Mennonite parents have a high degree of consensus regarding the rank of salvation, i.e., the standard deviation is only 1.1, which indicates a strong degree of agreement. There is less consensus among the teachers and among the Mennonite students as to the relative importance of salvation. However, the standard deviation for teachers and Mennonite students is lower for salvation than for any other value. Not only is salvation ranked as the most important value by all three Mennonite groups, it is also

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Table V-7. Terminal Value Differences Between National Adults, Ethnic Parents, Mennonite Teachers, Ethnic Students, and Non-Mennonite Students

Terminal Values	National Adults[2] N=1,195 Median-Rank	Ethnic Parents N=241 Med.[3]	Rank[4]	SD[5]	Mennonite Teachers N=36 Med.	Rank	SD	Ethnic Students N=341 Med.	Rank	SD	Non-Mennonite Students N=157 Med.	Rank	SD
1. Salvation[1]	8.5	7	1.0	1	1.1	1.1	1	3.1	1.1	1	3.6	13.6	16	6.8
2. Wisdom	7.9	6	3.2	2	3.7	4.2	2	3.4	5.3	3	4.5	8.5	7	4.5
3. Inner harmony	10.4	13	4.9	3	3.9	5.5	4	4.0	6.5	5	4.7	10.1	12	5.4
4. Happiness	7.6	4	5.3	4	3.3	7.4	7	3.8	5.7	4	3.8	5.3	1	4.1
5. True friendship	9.3	10	5.5	5	3.1	5.3	3	3.3	4.9	2	3.5	6.3	3	4.1
6. Family security	3.6	2	6.0	6	3.5	7.8	8	4.0	8.3	6	4.4	7.8	5	4.8
7. Mature love	12.1	14	6.1	7	3.9	6.1	5	3.4	9.7	9	4.5	7.6	4	5.0
8. Self-respect	7.7	5	8.9	8	4.4	6.5	6	3.7	9.6	8	4.6	9.6	8	4.4
9. Sense of accomplishment	8.8	8	9.1	9	3.2	7.8	8	3.3	9.8	10	4.2	11.0	14	4.4
10. Equality	9.6	11	9.6	10	3.7	8.3	10	3.5	9.5	7	4.1	9.6	8	5.1
11. Freedom	5.6	3	11.6	11	3.8	11.4	12	4.1	10.0	12	4.4	5.6	2	4.1

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Table V-7. (Continued

Terminal Values	National Adults N=1,195 Median-Rank		Ethnic Parents N=241 Med.	Rank	SD	Mennonite Teachers N=36 Med.	Rank	SD	Ethnic Students N=341 Med.	Rank	SD	Non-Mennonite Students N=157 Med.	Rank	SD
12. A world of beauty	13.5	15	12.3	12	3.3	11.8	13	3.7	12.0	14	4.1	10.0	11	4.6
13. An exciting life	15.4	18	12.3	12	3.7	11.9	14	4.7	9.8	10	4.6	9.8	10	5.0
14. A world of peace	3.3	1	12.6	14	4.0	11.0	11	4.4	11.3	13	4.5	8.1	6	5.0
15. Social recognition	14.6	16	13.4	15	3.6	12.5	15	3.5	12.4	15	4.5	14.4	17	4.2
16. A comfortable life	9.6	12	14.8	16	3.7	16.2	17	2.0	13.1	16	4.6	10.8	13	5.4
17. National security	9.1	9	16.2	17	2.7	16.8	18	2.0	16.9	18	3.2	16.0	18	4.3
18. Pleasure	14.7	17	16.7	18	2.8	15.8	16	2.6	14.7	17	4.2	11.6	15	4.6

[1]Values have been ordered according to Ethnic parent ranking.

[2]Reported by RoKeach (1973:67) includes white adult males and females over 21 years of age.

[3]The median score of each value is reported rather than the mean.

[4]Statements were rank ordered from 1 to 18, 1 = most important and 18 = least important

[5]SD = Standard deviation of scores around the mean, the lower the standard deviation, the greater the agreement.

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the value on which there is the highest degree of consensus. Among the Non-Mennonite students, the standard deviation was 6.8, which indicates a high amount of ambiguity regarding salvation. This possibly is due to the fact that a small number of students are highly committed in religious faith and ranked it high; whereas, most of the Non-Mennonite students ranked it low. The two diverse rankings yielded a high standard deviation.

In terms of least important values, all three Mennonite categories ranked social recognition, comfortable life, pleasure, and national security as the four least important values. Among teachers and parents there was a strong degree of consensus, i.e., a low standard deviation, that pleasure and national security are of little importance. National security was ranked in ninth position by the national sample of adults, but it was placed in the 18th position by Non-Mennonite students, which is very similar to the rest of the Mennonite groups. This suggests that outside of the Mennonite culture, national security is an important value for adults, but an unimportant value for students. A central theological belief of the Mennonites is the importance of peace and love in interpersonal relationships. There is also an emphasis on the temporality of the present life in light of the greater importance of eternal life in heaven. These two emphases coupled together make national security an unimportant value in the Mennonite culture. A world of peace was ranked number one by the national adults; whereas, all three Mennonite groups ranked it between the 11th and 14th position. At first this may appear in contradiction to the Mennonite emphasis on peace and love in interpersonal relationships; however, the Mennonite position teaches peace and nonresistance for persons who adhere to New Testament doctrines and follow the life of Christ. They do not anticipate a world of peace, since the majority of persons throughout the world do not adhere to New Testament principles. Mennonite adults would quote the Scripture which predicts that wars and rumors of wars will be present throughout all ages. Consequently, they do not expect or anticipate a world of peace.

It is interesting to note that freedom is ranked number one by Non-Mennonite students and number three by national adults; however, all three Mennonite groups rank freedom in the 11th or 12th position. The stress on obedience to adults and elders in the Mennonite culture yields a conforming type personality where personal freedom is less important than in the mainstream American culture. The greatest amount of agreement with all groups is found with happiness, an item which was ranked in first place by Non-Mennonite students and in fourth place

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by Mennonite parents, Mennonite students, and national adults, and in seventh place by Mennonite teachers.

All three Mennonite groups ranked inner harmony in the third to fifth position of importance; whereas, the Non-Mennonite students and Non-Mennonite adults ranked it in the 12th and 13th positions respectively. This also underscores the religious orientation of the Mennonite culture, which emphasizes the importance of each individual having personal peace with God.

The standard deviation can be used as a measure of the degree of consensus and agreement a group or culture has on the rank of a particular value. A large standard deviation suggests that a culture has not reached a consensus regarding a particular value; whereas, a small standard deviation indicates a greater uniformity of agreement with regard to the relative importance of a particular value. If a group has developed a unique subculture, then we would expect that group to have a lower standard deviation (high agreement) on the ranking of values than we would expect in a more diverse culture. We find this to be the case when we compare Mennonite students with Non-Mennonite students. Out of the 18 values the Mennonite students have a lower standard deviation than the Non-Mennonite students on all the values except three (self-respect, freedom, and social recognition). This suggests that among the Mennonite students there is a greater degree of agreement on the relative importance of each particular value than there is among the Non-Mennonite students. In other words, the Mennonite students do manifest the characteristics and traits of a subculture when compared to Non-Mennonite students in public schools. Of particular importance for this study is the fact that Mennonite parents have a greater degree of uniformity in the value ranks than do Ethnic students. Mennonite parents who represent the traditional value system have a much greater degree of uniformity than the students who are caught in the throes of rapid cultural change. For instance in all of the 18 values that were ranked, the Mennonite parents have a smaller standard deviation (higher degree of agreement) than do the Ethnic students. This is particularly important in terms of cultural transmission, because it suggests that the students have a great deal more ambiguity and uncertainty than the parents as to the ordering of the value hierarchy within the Mennonite cultural system. Another way to describe the same data is to note that all of the Mennonite parents' standard deviations were under 4.0 with the exception of two values (self-respect and a world of peace); whereas, all of the students' standard deviations were above 4.0, except for

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four values (national security, happiness, friendship, and salvation).

The Mennonite teachers do not systematically conform to a pattern in the same way the students and parents do. For instance, on half of the 18 values the Mennonite teachers have a higher standard deviation than the parents and on the other half they are lower than the parents. In other words, the teachers have a greater consensus on some of the items than the parents do, but on other items, they are less in agreement than the parents.

In summary, we note the following:

1. The Mennonite students, teachers, and parents constitute a subculture which is uniquely different from the Non-Mennonite students and adults in the general population. This is strongly supported by the data in that for all 18 values the Non-Mennonite students have less agreement (a higher standard deviation) than all three Mennonite groups with the exception of three items for the Mennonite students and one item for the Mennonite teachers.

2. The Mennonite culture has a highly religious orientation in which freedom, a comfortable life, pleasure, and national security are of less importance than they are in the general population.

3. Mennonite parents have a greater degree of agreement and consensus than do the students on all of the items. This suggests that although the transmission of cultural values from parents to students is relatively stable when compared with Non-Mennonite students, the Ethnic students do have greater uncertainty and less clarity than their parents regarding the relative importance of the selected values.

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NORMATIVE ACTIVITIES

Conceptual Definition

The conceptualization of normative activities represents a synthesis of Rokeach's (1968) instrumental values and Spindler's (1965, 1973, and 1974) instrumental activities. The necessity of making precise intra-Mennonite attitudinal differentiations mandated the use of a tool which could measure attitudes toward culturally specific normative activities. Rokeach's array of instrumental values did not appear useful in making precise distinctions among individuals in the Mennonite culture. According to Rokeach (1968:160), instrumental values are defined as "a single belief which always takes the following form: 'I believe that such-and-such a mode of conduct (for example: honesty, courage) is personally and socially preferable in all situations with respect to all objects.'" In other words, instrumental values specify certain preferable modes of behavior.

In a similar, but less abstract vein, Spindler (1965, 1973, and 1974) has proposed the concept of instrumental activities. Instrumental activities are acceptable behaviors which usually produce expected and desirable results within a specific cultural system. Spindler suggests that a cultural system has specific goals or end-states (terminal values) which are approved and promoted by the members of the culture. Instrumental linkages specify the particular activities which are intended to accomplish the designated cultural goals. During moments of rapid social change or transition, there tends to be a lack of consensus among members or subgroups within the culture regarding the normative instrumental linkages. With specific reference to the school, Spindler says: "Education as cultural transmission may be defined as means employed by established members of a cultural system to inform new members coming into the system, of the sanctioned instrumental linkages, to communicate how they are ranked and organized, and also to commit these new members to the support and continuance of these linkages and the belief system that gives them credibility" (1974:248).

Normative activities are defined as preferable and acceptable modes of behavior. Normative activities are the tangible manifestation of a culture's core values. Cultural norms specify the desirable normative activities for particular situations.

In light of the rapid social changes occurring in the Mennonite culture, we anticipated that a differentiation could be made, both inter- and intragenerationally, among members of the culture regarding their preference for culturally specific normative activities. Furthermore, it was expected that individuals and subgroups could be arrayed along a continuum from traditional to emergent normative activities. The use of the terms "traditional" and "emergent" to designate the polar extremes of the continuum originates from Spindler's (1963) characterization of a "shift" occurring in American value patterns. Hostetler (1969:273) also employed the terms to conceptualize changes in life styles among the Old Order Amish. Traditional normative activities are conceived as the preference for old or experienced ways of doing things. Emergent normative activities are viewed as innovative behaviors frequently incompatible with the customary behavioral expectations in the culture. It was anticipated that the ethnic school would reinforce and reaffirm predominantly traditional normative activities. Students in the public school are exposed to a greater variety of nontraditional activities and could be expected to endorse "emergent" activities to a greater extent than Ethnic students. Transfer students are of particular interest since they are under the influence of the ethnic school for the first time. An analysis of Transfer students' attitudes toward normative activities should provide insight into the function of the ethnic school in the transmission of normative activities.

Findings

The findings regarding normative activities are displayed in Table V-8. The mean scores on the normative activities scale for the comparative groups in September 1973 are reported in column one. Scale scores could potentially range from a low of 38 (the emergent end of the scale) to a high of 190 (the traditional end of the scale). The first task was to determine whether or not the three statistical groups were similar in the beginning of the school year. The three groups (Ethnic, Transfer, and Public) are not statistically different in the beginning of the school year in their attitudes toward normative activities. A one-way analysis of variance indicated that there was not a statistically significant difference between the group means. In other words, the three groups were basically similar at the beginning of the school year (September 1973). The fact that the groups are equivalent in the beginning of the school year is important, since this fulfills one of the primary

requirements of a quasi-experimental design. Thus, changes that occur in attitudes toward normative activities throughout the school year can be attributed to the school experience with a greater degree of confidence than if the groups had not been equivalent initially.

Table V-8. Normative Activities: Mean Group Scores[1]

	Normative I[2]	Normative II[3]	Normative P[4]	Mean Difference NI-NII	T-test NI-NII	T-test NI-NP	Adjusted Means NII
Ethnic N=228	104.0 (19.6)	113.4 (18.6)	132.1 (20.5)	9.5	12.4*	17.8*	113.7
Transfer N=64	104.1 (19.7)	110.9 (20.7)	124.9 (20.2)	6.8	4.7*	6.6*	111.8
Public N=102	102.8 (18.2)	106.5 (18.9)	127.2 (21.0)	3.7	2.9*	12.8*	108.0
Analysis of variance F-ratio	.16	4.7*	3.7				8.6*

*P < .01

[1]Scores are derived from a 38-item Likert scale with potential range from 38 (emergent) to 190 (traditional).

[2]Normative I = Measure of student normative activities, September 1973.

[3]Normative II = Measure of student normative activities, May 1974.

[4]Normative P = Measure of parent normative activities, Fall 1973.

[5]Standard deviation in parentheses.

Student scores on the normative activities scale at the end of the school year (May 1974) are listed in column two. The F-ratio of 4.7 indicates that the mean group scores are significantly different at the end of the school year. A comparison of the normative activity scores from September to May shows that all three groups have increased in their support of traditional normative activities. The greatest change occurred with the Ethnic

group, who increased 9.5 points in the more traditional direction on the Likert scale. The least change occurred with the Public group, who increased approximately four points in the traditional direction. The fact that the Ethnic and Transfer groups made a greater change in the direction of traditional activities than the Public group did lends support to the hypothesis that the ethnic school functions to sustain and increase support of traditional normative activities. It is somewhat surprising that the Public group also increased in the traditional direction, since their school year was spent in a public environment where emergent activities would be advocated and participated in by peers to a greater extent.

The parents of the three student groups varied in their endorsement of normative activities. The F-ratio of 3.7 indicates that they were not significantly different in a statistical sense. The most traditional of the parental groups are the Ethnic parents followed by the Public parents; and the least traditional or most emergent oriented are the Transfer parents. We anticipated that the Public parents would be the least traditional in their normative orientation; however, the data clearly indicate that this is not the case. A comparison of the parental scores with the student scores indicates that in all three groups parents have a much higher traditional orientation than the students. The parents were approximately 25 points higher in the traditional direction on the scale than the students in September 1973. This would suggest that the students have diverged in the emergent direction away from the parents before attending the ethnic high school. The difference between the parents' and the students' scores in May is not as great as the difference between the parents' scores and the students' scores in September. This suggests that the ethnic school functions to increase the traditional orientation of the students, which decreases the parent-student gap. However, the same phenomena occur with the Mennonite students in public schools, although to a much lesser extent.

In attempting to assess the impact of a school environment on student attitudes, it is important to control for background factors. In this case parental attitudes toward normative activities might explain more variation in student attitude change than the educational environment itself. It is generally accepted in literature (Bohrnstedt 1969) dealing with change scores that there is a high correlation between first and second measures of the same concept. The statistical procedure of analysis of covariance (Blalock 1972) permits an investigator to adjust group means to account for differences which the

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groups may have on other relevant variables. In effect the adjusted means represent "true" differences which exist between groups after relevant variables have been controlled. In this study it was necessary to adjust group means of the measures taken in May 1974 for parental differences on the same variable and for student differences which existed in September 1973. The impact of the school experience can be assessed only after parental attitudes and student differences on the pretest have been controlled.

The adjusted means in column 7 of Table V-8 represent differences among the three statistical groups which persist even after parental and pretest differences have been taken into account. Although the differences between group means decrease with this controlling procedure, the F-ratio of 8.6 is statistically significant and the groups remain in the same rank order. The Ethnic and Transfer students are more traditionally oriented toward normative activities. The school does make a difference by increasing endorsement of traditional normative activities but the effect of the school on this particular variable is greatest among students who have attended the school for the longest period of time.

In summary, the normative activities data suggest the following:

1. The three student groups were similar at the beginning of the school year.

2. The parents of the three student groups were not significantly different (statistically) in their endorsement of normative activities.

3. All three student groups were significantly less traditional than their parents in their attitude toward normative activities.

4. There was a positive relationship between ethnic school attendance and attitudes toward traditional normative activities. As ethnic school attendance increased the endorsement of traditional activities increased with controls for parental attitudes and pretest differences.

ETHNICITY

Conceptual Definition

The three most common variables associated with ethnic group are race, nationality, and religion (Glazer 1958). Gordon defines an ethnic group as "any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories" (1964: 27). Other authors have expanded the definition to include additional common elements: "common language, folkways and mores, attitudes and standards, territory, descent, history, and common government" (Francis 1947: 397); "members share a unique social and cultural heritage passed on from one generation to the next" (Rose 1964:11); the group has "common traditions and culture with putative continuity of biological heredity" (Schermerhorn 1970:13).

A secondary emphasis of most definitions is a collective consciousness, which asserts that the ethnic group has a greater collective awareness than a mere aggregate of homogeneous persons. Gordon (1964) describes the collective awareness as a shared feeling of peoplehood. Schermerhorn (1970)12) indicates that a necessary accompaniment to the commonality variables is "some consciousness of kind among members of the group." Schibutani using primarily social psychological terms indicates that an ethnic group "consists of those who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others. . . . They are united by emotional bonds and concerned with the preservation of their type" (1965:40,47). Rose sums this component of the definition by asserting, "Above all else, members of such groups feel a sense of identity and an interdependence of fate with those who share the customs of the ethnic tradition" (1964:11).

A review of numerous attempts to define ethnic group indicates two recurring components: (1) a group with certain common characteristics, and (2) a consciousness of their solidarity. Integrating the two components--an ethnic group is a homogeneous group in regard to variables such as race, religion, nationality, or a combination of such variates; and the ethnic group shares a collective awareness of its historic and present circumstances.

Authors frequently differentiate three dimensions of ethnicity: (1) subjective identity, (2) evaluation of ethnic affiliation, and (3) conative. The first two

dimensions are attitudinal perceptions; whereas, the latter is behavioral. Glazer (1958) suggests that subjective identification refers to a person's use of racial, national, or religious terms to identify himself. An individual's use of ethnic labels in response to the question, "Who am I?" reveals his subjective awareness of his ethnic identity. The conative dimension is usually conceptualized as overt behavior. Friendship patterns, institutional associations, and prescribed ethnic behaviors are examples of the conative dimension. Included with this dimension are descriptive and ascribed traits which identify an individual as a member of a particular ethnic group.

The third dimension--evaluation of ethnicity--is a primary concern of this research. It is assumed that ethnic group members maintain attitudes toward their ethnic group. The cognitive component of their attitudes refers to the knowledge and factual information which they possess regarding the group. The affective component of the attitude refers to an individual's evaluation of his ethnic group and his affiliation with the group (Kleiner and Parker 1972). In essence an individual makes a positive or negative assessment of his feelings regarding the ethnic group. It is assumed that individuals can be ordered on a scale according to how positively or negatively they evaluate their ethnic affiliation. Thus ethnicity will refer to an individual's evaluation of his ethnic affiliation.

Fishman and Nahirny discuss the impact of the ethnic school on the nature of ethnicity: "The ethnic group school taught <u>about</u> ethnicity, whereas ethnicity consists of <u>living</u> ethnically. In the school, ethnicity became self-conscious. It was something to be 'studied,' 'valued,' 'appreciated,' and 'believed in.' It became a cause. As it was raised to the level of ideology, belief system, national symbolism, or selective sentimentality, it also ceased being ethnic in the original authentic sense" (1966:93). Essentially they are suggesting that the ethnic school facilitates a shift from subjective-tangible to objective-intangible ethnicity. In terms of defensive structuring, one of the anticipated effects of the ethnic school will be an increase in positive ethnicity. Students leaving the ethnic school should have greater respect, loyalty, and positive assessment of their Mennonite membership.

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Findings

The Likert scale to measure ethnicity had a potential score range from a low of 14 to a high of 70. The three groups of students were very similar in September 1973 as indicated in Table V-9. The F-ratio to test for significant differences between group means showed there was not a statistically significant difference. The Ethnic and Public groups are very similar, with the Transfer group being a bit higher on ethnicity, but not substantively or significantly higher. All three groups increased in ethnicity from September to May; however, the increases in the Ethnic and Public groups were significant; whereas, the increase in the Transfer group was not significant. This finding is in variance with the prediction that the ethnic school should increase ethnic commitment in both the Ethnic and Transfer groups. In fact, students in public schools increased in their ethnic commitment just as much as the Ethnic students who were attending the Mennonite High School. The Transfer students who also attended the Mennonite High School did not increase significantly and, in fact, increased less than the Mennonite students in the public schools.

Comparing the ethnicity scores of the students with their parents, all three parent types are statistically and substantively higher than their children in their ethnic commitment. This fact is also supported from evidence in Table A-2 in Appendix A, which displays the 14 items which constituted the Likert ethnicity scale. For every item the three parent groups are always higher than any of the student groups in their ethnic commitment. The three types of parents are not significantly different from each other in their attitude toward ethnic membership.

Although the parents are higher in their ethnic commitment than the students, there is a weak or negligible correlation between the parental ethnic score and the students' ethnic score (Table A-8). The correlations range from .08 to .14. This suggests that there is not a strong relationship between the degree of parental ethnicity and the degree of student ethnicity. In other words, parents who are high on ethnicity do not necessarily have children who also are high on ethnicity. And, conversely, some parents who are low on ethnicity have children who are much higher on ethnicity. The scattergram of the relationship between parental and student ethnicity supports this observation.

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Table V-9. Ethnicity: Mean Group Scores[1]

	Ethnic I[2]	Ethnic II[3]	Ethnic P[4]	Mean Difference EI-EII	T-test EI-EII	T-test EI-EP	Adjusted Means EII
Ethnic N=228	47.5 (8.8)	50.4 (5.8)	56.0 (6.2)	2.9	6.2*	11.6*	50.5
Transfer N=64	49.3 (7.5)	50.7 (5.1)	55.2 (5.9)	1.4	1.6	4.3*	50.7
Public N=102	47.7 (8.5)	50.2 (4.7)	55.3 (5.9)	2.5	3.9*	8.1*	50.4
Analysis of variance F-ratio	1.21	.17	.72				.07

*P < .01

[1]Scores are derived from a 14-item Likert scale with a potential range from 14 (low) to 70 (high).

[2]Ethnic I = Measure of student ethnicity, September 1973.

[3]Ethnic II = Measure of student ethnicity, May 1974.

[4]Ethnic P = Measure of parental ethnicity, Fall 1973.

[5]Standard deviation in parentheses.

When group means of the May 1974 ethnicity scores are adjusted to account for parental attitudes and pretest differences, the groups are strikingly similar. In fact as seen in column 7 of Table V-9 the greatest difference between groups is only .3 on a scale ranging from 14.0 to 70.0. Thus when controlling for parental attitudes and pretest differences, attendance at the ethnic school makes no difference in the students' evaluation of their ethnic group membership. Students in the public schools are just as positive and satisfied with their ethnic affiliation as are the students who attend the ethnic school.

The subjective responses to the question "Who am I?" are summarized in Table V-10. This open-ended question appeared at the beginning of the September questionnaire for students and for parents. Of particular interest

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Table V-10. Religious and Ethnic Responses to "Who am I?"

		General Religious Response[1]		Ethnic Response[2]	Spiritual Response[3]	
		%	Mean	%	%	Mean
Ethnic students	N=333	83	1.7	49	68	1.0
Transfer students	N= 98	83	1.8	49	76	1.1
Public students	N= 83	82	1.6	44	75	1.1
Total students	N=513	83	1.7	46	71	1.0
Total parents	N=368	95	2.5	17	89	1.6
Ethnic parents	N=230	96	2.8	18	91	1.7
Transfer parents	N= 62	94	2.3	14	90	1.4
Public parents	N= 76	91	2.0	17	82	1.5
Mormon[4]	N= 44	48				
Roman Catholic	N=258	46				
Methodist	N= 49	27				
Baptist	N= 49	25				
Disciples of Christ	N= 51	22				
Congregational	N= 58	21				
Lutheran	N= 93	20				
Presbyterian	N=153	20				
Episcopalian	N= 36	17				

[1]General religious response was defined as any type of religious identification including church role, i.e., "Sunday school teacher," ethnic "Mennonite," and spiritual, "I am saved."

[2]Ethnic response defined only as ethnic identification --"I am a Mennonite."

[3]Spiritual response defined as subjective spiritual states and characteristics, i.e., "I am a child of God," "born again," "redeemed," etc.

[4]Mormon through Episcopalian data is reported by Glenn Vernon in "Religious Self-Identification," Pacific Sociological Review 1962, 5:40-43. "Who am I?" was administered to boy scouts 11-16 years of age.

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here is the percentage of respondents who identify themselves subjectively as being a member of the ethnic group and who give a religious identification as part of their self-identity inventory. The findings in Table V-10 contrast with those in Tables V-9 and A-2, in that students are much higher in their subjective ethnic identity than are the parents. For instance, 46 percent of the students on the average responded with the statement, "I am a Mennonite," as one of their answers to the "Who am I?" question; whereas, on the average only 17 percent of the parent groups revealed that they were a Mennonite in the "Who am I?" inventory.

The data in Table V-10 suggest that ethnic identity is much more salient in the minds of the students than in the minds of the parents. However, when the parents responded to specific statements on the Likert ethnicity scale they were much more positive in their ethnic endorsement than were the students. This contradictory finding, perhaps, can be explained by the fact that students are experiencing more of a crisis and anxiety about their identity than are the parents. Thus, the students are reluctant to give a positive endorsement of ethnicity items on the Likert scale. However, when they responded to the open-ended "Who am I?" question, the anxiety and struggle with ethnic identity is salient as indicated by a high percentage of the students who revealed their ethnic membership. The parents, on the other hand, are committed to the ethnic group and are eager to give a positive response to specific items, since they are older and have made a greater investment and commitment to the ethnic group. However, since the parents have less anxiety and ambiguity about their ethnic commitment, they tend to identify themselves less frequently in a subjective manner as a member of the ethnic group. The parental ethnicity is a fact of life--it is taken for granted and is less salient. This is one possible explanation for the discrepancy between the two methods of measuring ethnicity and raises a significant methodological question as to the validity of instruments used to measure ethnicity.

The frequency of general religious and spiritual responses to the "Who am I?" question is also given in Table V-10. Spiritual responses were subjective statements or characteristics, such as "I am a saved person," "I am a Christian," "I am a disciple of Jesus," etc. The parents are significantly higher than the students in the number of spiritual identities which they list. On the average 71 percent of the students listed a spiritual identity; whereas, on the average 89 percent of the

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parents listed a spiritual identity. The students averaged approximately one spiritual identity statement per person; whereas, the parents averaged 1.6 spiritual identity statements.

A general religious category is summarized in column one of Table V-10, which includes ethnic membership statements, spiritual statements, and church role participation statements, such as "I am a minister," "I am a song leader," etc. Again, the students provide fewer general religious responses than the parents. On the average, 83 percent of the students gave one or more general religious identities; while 95 percent of the parents gave one or more general religious responses. The student average was 1.7 religious identities per person; whereas, for the parents, the average number of general religious identity statements was 2.5. Although the parents are somewhat higher than the students in their general religious identity, both groups are significantly higher when compared with other religious groups. For instance, Glenn Vernon (1962) reported the percentage of individuals in various religious groups who gave one or more general religious responses to the "Who am I?" question. The highest percentage of individuals giving a religious response was 48 percent in the Mormon group, ranging to a low of 17 percent in the Episcopalian group. Comparatively speaking, the Mennonite students and parents are considerably higher than any of the other groups in the frequency with which they give a general religious identity to the subjective self-identity question. Again, this underscores the centrality and the strong embeddedness of a religious orientation in the Mennonite culture.

The data and findings on ethnicity raise more questions than they provide answers. However, we can summarize the following areas:

1. Parents scored significantly higher on ethnicity than students on the Likert-type scale.

2. Students responded more frequently with ethnic self-identities than the parents on the subjective "Who am I?" scale.

3. The three types of parents were not significantly different on the Likert measure of ethnicity.

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4. All three student groups increased in ethnicity from September 1973 to May 1974. However, the increase in the Transfer group was not significant.

5. Attendance at the ethnic school did not influence student evaluation of their ethnic membership when parental attitudes and differences on pretest scores were controlled.

RELIGIOUS ORTHODOXY

Conceptual Definition

Frequently it has been argued that the core values of the Mennonite cultural charter center around religious beliefs. Previous measures have demonstrated that a high degree of religious orientation characterizes Mennonite society. However, the strength and nature of the religious beliefs have not been precisely specified. One aspect of the research was to determine the extent to which orthodox beliefs are stable in a culture in the midst of rapid external social change and urbanization. The differentiation between parents and students demonstrated that normative activities are undergoing rapid change. There was a smaller difference between parents and students in the degree of their ethnic commitment. It was also crucial to monitor stability and difference patterns in the basic religious beliefs of the Mennonite students and parents. However, in this instance the focus is not with culturally unique Mennonite beliefs but rather with general religious beliefs. Religious orthodoxy was found by Glock and Stark (1965) to be the central component of religious commitment and the best predictor of all other aspects of religiosity. Religious orthodoxy is the cluster of central beliefs traditionally advocated by the Judeo-Christian church. Included are beliefs related to the existence of God, the divine inspiration of the Bible, and the acceptance of Judeo-Christian views of history.

Findings

The findings regarding the relationship between student and parental orthodoxy are summarized in Table V-11. The three student groups were somewhat different in their degree of orthodoxy in September, with the Transfers the highest and the Ethnic group the lowest. The F-ratio in the analysis of variance

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test indicated a statistically significant difference. At the time of the second measurement in May 1974 these differences had disappeared. The Public and Transfer groups were very similar in May with the Ethnic students remaining slightly lower. A glance at the "mean difference" column in Table V-11 reveals that each of the student groups experienced a very minimal increase in orthodoxy from September to May. Most important is the very strong stability of orthodox beliefs which is evidenced by all three of the student groups.

Table V-11. Orthodoxy: Mean Group Scores[1]

	Orthodoxy I[2]	Orthodoxy II[3]	Orthodoxy P[4]	Mean Difference OI-OII	T-test OI-OII	T-test OI-OP	Adjusted Means OII
Ethnic N=228	67.3 (7.9)	67.9 (6.4)	70.1 (6.0)	.6	1.69	5.48*	68.3
Transfer N=64	69.8 (4.7)	69.2 (4.7)	69.6 (4.7)	.6	1.0	.60	68.4
Public N=102	68.9 (6.5)	69.0 (6.7)	69.6 (5.9)	.1	.16	.79	[illegible]5
Analysis of variance F-ratio	4.0*	1.55	.42				.08

*P < .01

[1]Scores are derived from a 15-item Likert scale with potential range from 15 (low) to 75 (high).

[2]Orthodoxy I = Measure of student orthodoxy, September 1973.

[3]Orthodoxy II = Measure of student orthodoxy, May 1974.

[4]Orthodoxy P = Measure of parental orthodoxy, Fall 1973.

[5]Standard deviation in parentheses.

When the final (May) scores of orthodoxy were adjusted for parental orthodoxy differences and for student pretest differences on orthodoxy, the adjusted means are strikingly

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similar with differences of only .2 on a 75-point scale. Thus, the ethnic school appears to have little impact on orthodox religious beliefs. It is imperative to note that all the student groups were very high initially and, consequently, there was very little potential for an increment in orthodoxy.

The parental groups were very similar in their orthodoxy. The F-ratio for the analysis of variance test revealed that there was not a statistically significant difference between the parental groups. The students are not very unlike their parents in the degree of orthodoxy. There is a statistically significant difference between the Ethnic students and their parents; however, the difference is less than three points on the scale. The difference between the Transfer students and their parents and between the Public students and their parents is not substantively or statistically significant.

The interesting fact which emerges from Table V-11 is that both the parents and students are very high on the scale of religious orthodoxy. The upper end of the scale is 75 and all the groups at all times are in the range from 67 through 70, which means that for most of the questions, the respondents gave a "strongly agree" or "strongly disagree" response. This is different from the more normal distribution of student and parent scores on normative activities and ethnicity. On both the ethnicity and normative activities scales, the mean score for all groups was more centrally located on the scale. This suggests that the Mennonites--both students and parents--have much stronger feelings about orthodox religious beliefs than they do about ethnic commitment and normative activities.

An analysis of Table A-3 in the Appendix adds an interesting dimension since it includes the responses of Non-Mennonite students and also teachers in addition to the three student and three parent groups. A quick scrutiny of the responses in Table A-3 indicates that all of the Mennonite groups are considerably higher in their endorsement of orthodox beliefs than are the Non-Mennonite students. There is very little variation between the three Mennonite student groups and the three Mennonite parent groups. Interestingly, the Mennonite teachers are lower in orthodoxy than the three student and three parent groups on 14 out of the 15 questions. On the question regarding life after death, teachers are two percentage points higher than the Ethnic and the Public student groups, but similar to the rest of the Mennonite

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groups. However, as a whole the teachers are somewhat less orthodox than are the Mennonite students and Mennonite parents.

A caution must be advanced in interpreting this data, since with a total of only 37 teachers, one teacher's score is the equivalent of approximately three percentage points. Thus, when the teachers are consistently six or nine percent lower than the other Mennonite groups, this may be due to a systematic low orthodox response by only two or three teachers. Thus, the majority of the teachers undoubtedly are quite orthodox in their beliefs; however, two or three teachers can make the entire group appear to be less orthodox. There are a few items where the teachers are significantly lower than the rest of the Mennonite groups, which could not be caused by two or three teachers. For instance, on the question regarding the creation of the world in a 24-hour day, only 11 percent of the teachers agreed with this statement; whereas, students and parents range in their agreement from 44 percent to 73 percent. And on the question regarding eternal punishment in hell, 63 percent of the teachers agree; whereas, the student and parent groups range from 81 percent in agreement to 95 percent agreement. Possibly the causal factor involved in the teachers' lower degree of orthodoxy is their years of education. It is usually accepted that an inverse correlation exists between the amount of higher education and the degree of religious orthodoxy. That is, the higher the years of education, the lower the degree of orthodoxy. Probably this is a key variable which explains the lower degree of teacher orthodoxy, since the educational level for Mennonite teachers would be considerably higher than the average educational level for Mennonite parents.

In contrast to the strong Mennonite support of religious orthodoxy, we find the Non-Mennonite students giving considerably less amount of support for the orthodox belief statements. Generally, between 50 percent and 65 percent of the Non-Mennonite students support the orthodox belief statements or disagree with the non-orthodox belief statements. This contrasts with the Mennonite groups where we find the degree of support for orthodox statements generally ranging from 90 percent to 100 percent. It is important to note that the Mennonite students in public schools are not considerably lower in their support of orthodox statements than are the Ethnic or Transfer students who attend the Mennonite school. This would suggest that even though the Public students are in a secular environment where orthodox belief statements may be

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questioned, their commitment to religious orthodoxy is not eroding.

In summary we can conclude the following regarding orthodoxy:

1. Among all the Mennonite groups there is a high degree of consistency and strong support for religious orthodox belief statements.

2. The Mennonite groups are all considerably higher than the Non-Mennonite students.

3. There are very small differences between Mennonite students and their parents in their support of religious orthodox statements. This reveals that even though normative activities, ethnicity, and other cultural symbols are undergoing rapid change and transformation, the religious orthodoxy, which is at the core of the Mennonite cultural charter, is quite stable and is effectively being transmitted from the parental generation to the high school students.

4. The ethnic school does not make a difference in student orthodoxy when parental and pretest differences are controlled. It is not even possible to make a case that the ethnic school sustains orthodox belief statements, since the Mennonite students in public school are just as high on orthodoxy as are the students in the ethnic school.

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SELF-ESTEEM

Conceptual Definition

The interactionist perspective in sociology (Cooley 1956, Mead 1934) has maintained that an individual's self-attitudes are a reflection of his reference others. More specifically, an individual's self-appraisal is derived from his interpretation of others' reactions to him. Hence, the social networks in which an individual has membership are a crucial determinant in self-evaluation. An adolescent's position in his peer group may have a powerful bearing upon self-evaluation.

Lewin (1948) has described the "self-hatred" among Jews, which emerges as the result of their inferior minority group status. The fact that minority groups in a society are differentially esteemed by the general populace should result in systematic variations in self-esteem by minority group members in direct relation with their group's social status. When minority individuals are in social networks composed of persons from similar ethnic backgrounds, their self-evaluation should be enhanced.

The different public and parochial school contexts included in our study provide an opportunity to assess the influence of ethnic referent others on the self-evaluation of Mennonite adolescents. Mennonite students in the public school are in an alien cultural environment. Their reference others may espouse different value orientations and question the "quaint" and "old-fashioned" Mennonite beliefs. The student who attends the ethnic high school is surrounded by reference others who share similar beliefs. The ethnic social mirror in the parochial school should increase the adolescent's self-assessment. Furthermore the ethnic school seeks to maintain a positive and wholesome image of the ethnic group. The adolescent in this setting should increase in positive self-evaluation, since his ethnic group status receives a positive evaluation by the ethnic school system.

Findings

A summary of the findings related to self-esteem is found in Table V-12. The three student groups are essentially the same on both the September and May measures. However, both the Ethnic and Public groups experienced statistically significant changes in the

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direction of increased positive self-esteem during the school year. The Transfer group increased slightly during the year but not enough to be statistically significant.

Table V-12. Self-Esteem: Mean Group Scores[1]

	Self-Esteem I[2]	Self-Esteem II[3]	Self-Esteem P[4]	Mean Difference SI-SII	T-test SI-SII	T-test SI-SP	Adjusted Means SII
Ethnic N=228	28.0 (3.5)[5]	29.3 (3.5)	29.2 (3.9)	1.3	5.5*	3.5*	29.1
Transfer N=64	28.6 (3.7)	29.5 (3.7)	28.9 (3.6)	.9	2.4	.43	29.3
Public N=102	28.8 (3.2)	30.0 (3.3)	28.3 (3.4)	1.2	3.9*	1.5	29.4
Analysis of variance F-ratio	2.8	1.6	2.1				.38

*P < .01

[1]Scores are derived from a 10-item Likert scale with potential range from 10 (low) to 40 (high).

[2]Self I = Measure of student self-esteem, September 1973.

[3]Self II = Measure of student self-esteem, May 1974

[4]Self P = Measure of parental self-esteem, Fall 1973

[5]Standard deviation in parentheses.

These findings are contrary to our expectations. The Transfers who entered the ethnic school from public schools actually displayed the least amount of positive change in their self-assessment. Concurrently, the Mennonite students in public schools during the study showed a greater increase than the Transfers--an increase which was equivalent to the degree of positive change among the Ethnic students who were attending the parochial school. This unexpected finding might be explained by the fact that Mennonite students in the public schools

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tend to seek out other ethnic members for their referent others. They also tend to be members of social networks which are composed of primarily "Christian" individuals who, although not Mennonite, hold a similar world view. The fact that Transfers evidenced the least amount of positive increase may result from the fact that they are adjusting to a new social system and to new reference others. Since their social networks in the parochial school are composed of other Ethnics, the ethnicity factor per se is a less important factor in self-evaluation. Now academic performance and participation in student organizations become more crucial determinants of self-evaluation. Since the Transfers are strangers to the ethnic school they are less knowledgeable about student culture and school norms than are the Ethnic students. Their marginal position in the social structure may impede a rapid increase in self-esteem.

The parental groups were not significantly different in their self-assessment. The ethnic group of students were the only students who were significantly different from their parents in self-esteem. They reported a slightly lower self-evaluation than their parents.

When the final student self-esteem scores were adjusted to account for differences in parental self-esteem and student variation on the pretest, the adjusted group means were very similar. The ethnic school appears to have no impact on self-esteem when parental differences and initial student differences are controlled.

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SOCIAL NETWORKS

Parental

The Mennonite parents were asked to report characteristics of their five closest friends. Their responses to the friendship questions are found in Table V-13. The parents were asked to indicate how many of their five closest friends, excluding members of their immediate family, fit the characteristics delineated in the five network questions. The average number of friends which fit each of these categories is reported in Table V-13. The parents of the three student groups report that four out of their five closest friends are members of the Mennonite Church. There is minor variation between the three groups, with the Public parents reporting a lower mean number of friends who are members of the Mennonite Church. The parents indicate that half of their five best friends are members of the same Mennonite congregation of which they also are members. On the average, less than one of their five best friends lives within a mile of their house. They also report that less than one of their five best friends works at their same place of employment. Almost all of their five best friends (4.8) are members of the Judeo-Christian faith.

Table V-13. Characteristics of Parents' Five Closest Friends: Mean Scores

	Ethnic Parents N=314	Transfer Parents N=91	Public Parents N=98	Total Parents N=503
Closest friends of parents --				
Are members of Mennonite Church	4.2	4.1	3.9	4.1
Are members of same Mennonite congregation	2.5	2.3	2.6	2.5
Live within a mile	.9	.9	1.1	.9
Work at same place of employment	.5	.5	.5	.5
Are Christian	4.8	4.8	4.6	4.8

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The parents have a deep embeddedness in ethnic networks in that four of their five friends are members of the same ethnic group. Their embeddedness in religious social networks is even greater indicated by the fact that 4.8 out of their five closest friends are also members of the Christian faith. The fact that half of their friends are not members of the same local congregation suggests that the social networks are broader than the local congregation. With rapid urbanization and fewer persons employed in agriculture, a larger number of persons drive from a distance to the local congregation and have Mennonite friends outside of the immediate congregation. This geographical distribution is also supported by the fact that only one of their five closest friends lives within a mile of their house. Thus the social networks are primarily Mennonite but are spread through a Mennonite area which is larger than the local Mennonite congregation and local geographical community. The fact that parents report that less than one of their best friends is employed at the same place of employment they are, appears at first glance to indicate that they have a weak linkage with their places of employment. However, this question must be interpreted in light of the fact that 40 percent of the parents are employed on a farm and would not have other persons working with them outside of their immediate family. Consequently, their social networks by necessity would be composed of persons who do not work where they do. However, the number is still quite low and suggests that their social networks emerge not so much through occupational relationships, but rather in the local congregation and in the larger ethnic group.

Considerable work has been done which indicates the importance of a person's social networks and reference groups in shaping his own world view and perspective. This is particularly important when we note that almost all of their five closest friends are members of the Chrsitian faith. This suggests that the parents' social networks are oriented toward religious values and principles germane to the Christian faith rather than mainstream society.

In summary, we can conclude that the parents of the three student groups are highly embedded in ethnic and religious social networks with very minor variations between groups.

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Student

Students in September and May were asked to indicate certain characteristics of their five best friends. They reported on their five closest friends excluding brothers and sisters but including friends at school and out of school. Their response to these questions is displayed in Table V-14.

Table V-14. Characteristics of Students' Five Best Friends; September 1973 to May 1974 : Mean Scores

Description of five best friends	Ethnic		Transfer		Public	
	Sept.	May	Sept.	May	Sept.	May
	N=345		N=102		N=102	
Attend public school	1.0	1.1	2.3	1.4	4.0	4.0
Attend LMHS	3.7	3.9	2.7	3.6	.6	.4
Are members of the Mennonite Church	4.4	4.5	3.5	4.1	2.8	2.8
Live within a mile	.6		.9		1.0	
Are same sex	4.4		4.4		4.4	
Have been close friends for at least 6 months	4.3		3.4		4.4	
Are members of church youth group	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.7	1.6
See at least daily	3.5		2.7		3.2	
Go to same school	3.9	3.9	2.7	3.6	3.4	3.5

As expected, the Public students said that four of their five closest friends also attended public high school; whereas, the Ethnic students reported only one of their five closest friends attend public school. On this particular question, the Transfer students indicate the greatest degree of change from September to May. Although in September 1973 they have fewer friends in public school than the Public students, they are similar to the Ethnic students in May, in that they have only 1.4 friends who attend public school. Congruent with this change we find that the Transfer students in September have 2.7 friends who attend the Mennonite High School. This average increases to 3.6 in May, which again is similar to the Ethnic students who attend the Mennonite school. The Ethnic students have the greatest ethnic embeddedness of their

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social networks in that 4.5 of their friends in May are members of the Mennonite Church. The degree of embeddedness increases for the Transfer students from 3.5 to 4.1 through the school year. It remained stable for the Public students, who report only 2.8 of their friends are members of the Mennonite Church.

All three groups report that one or fewer of their five best friends lives within a mile of their house. Again this follows the parental pattern and suggests that networks are not primarily oriented toward the local geographical community. Students are uniform in reporting that 4.4 of their five best friends are of the same sex that they are. This indicates that friendship networks for all groups are similar in sexual dimensions. The three student groups report between one and two of their five best friends are members of their local church youth group. However, the Public students report a greater average of friends who are members of their church youth group. All three groups report a larger number of their friends attend the same school than attend their same church youth group. However, the Public students report that more of their five friends attend their local youth group than do the Ethnics or Transfers. The Transfer students indicate that their average number of five friends who are also members of their local youth group decreases throughout the school year. This suggests that as the Transfer students gain new friends in the ethnic school the significance and importance of their friendship in the local church youth group decreases. The Ethnic students report the highest proportion of best friends who attend the same school that they do. However, the Transfer group indicates the most change (from 2.7 to 3.6) of their friends who attend the same school which they attend. It appears from this data that the Transfer students have each gained an additional friend through their attendance at the ethnic school.

In summary the Ethnic and the Transfer students at the end of the school year are highly embedded in ethnic social networks in that 4.1 to 4.5 of their closest five friends are also members of the ethnic group. The Public students are less embedded in ethnic social networks, with only 2.8 of their friends being members of the Mennonite Church. It appears that the school is an important determinant of social network configurations, in that all three groups report that from 3.5 to 3.9 of their five best friends also attend the same school which they attend. School is more important than the local youth group, where only 1.2 to 1.7 of their five best friends are found. The data suggests that the ethnic school is important for the

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construction and expansion of ethnic social networks, since Transfer students uniformly report that the number of ethnic members of their social network increased throughout the school year.

In addition to describing characteristics of their five closest friends, the students in September and May were also asked to give information regarding their four best friends at their school. Some of this information overlaps the immediately preceding question; however, the information is more comprehensive and detailed on the four friends at school. Students were asked to name and give information on four other students "at your school whose ideas and opinions are important to you. These might include friends with whom you eat lunch, hang around, ride to school or have classes." A summary of this information is presented in Table V-15. Scores in Table V-15 were derived by combining information which each subject gave on the four best friends; thus, the mean and percentage scores are essentially a network score. The degree of network attraction is similar for all three groups; however, it is lowest for the Public students. Network attraction decreases slightly for the Public students throughout the school year, while it increases for the Transfer students, but remains the same for the Ethnic students. In terms of the subject's perception of belief similarity between himself and the network, we find that the Public students perceive themselves to be less similar in beliefs with their network than do the Transfer or Ethnic students.

All three groups increased from September to May in the degree of perceived influence they think their social networks have on them. However, the greatest increase in perceived influence occurs with the Transfer students followed by the Ethnic and, finally, by the Public students. This suggests that Transfer students believe that their friends in the ethnic school are exerting a greater amount of influence on them throughout the school year than do Ethnic and Public students. The Transfer and Public students increase in the amount of hours they spend with their networks; whereas, the Ethnic students decrease. This may be an unreliable measure since hours spent together are constrained by many other factors, such as amount of free time during lunch, number of classes together, number of clubs together, and accessible transportation.

Table V-15. Composite Scores[1] of Student Social Networks in School

	Ethnic		Transfer		Public	
	Sept. N=345	May	Sept. N=102	May	Sept. N=102	May
Degree of attraction[3] (1-7)	6.22	6.2	6.3	6.4	6.2	6.1
Similarity of beliefs[3] (1-7)	5.7	5.7	5.9	5.8	5.3	5.3
Amount of influence[3] (1-7)	5.0	5.2	4.9	5.3	4.5	4.6
Hours spent together weekly	10.6	10.1	11.6	12.0	10.9	11.7
Number of courses taken together	1.5	1.8	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.7
Eat lunch together[4]	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.1
Spend weekends together[4]	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.9
Is a member of the Mennonite Church	95	94	94	94	40	42
Is a member of youth group	28	23	27	26	22	22
Is in same grade	86	84	73	74	84	81
Is of same sex	93	89	93	87	95	94
Is a Christian	98	95	99	96	82	86

[1]Mean scores are reported for items 1 to 7 and percentages are reported for items 8 to 12.

[2]Scores were derived by combining information on four best friends

[3]Scale of 1(low) to 7(high)

[4]Scale of 1(low) to 3(high)

The three student groups were asked to indicate how frequently they eat lunch with their network friends on a scale which ranged from never (1) to usually (3). The Ethnic and Transfer students are exactly the same on the amount of network interaction over lunch; whereas, the

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Public group is lower. Students were also asked to indicate on a 1 to 3 scale the frequency with which they spent time together with their networks on weekends. All students indicated a slight increase from September to May; however, the Public group reports that they spend a greater amount of weekend time together than do the Ethnics or Transfers. The greatest differences between groups in Table V-15 are found in the degree to which their social networks are ethnic oriented. Ninety-four to 95 percent of the Ethnic and Transfer students indicate that all the friends in their school social networks are Mennonite; whereas, only 40 percent of the Public students report that their school friends are Mennonite. This is to be expected since the potential number of Mennonite peers is certainly greater in the ethnic school. The degree of overlap between friendship networks in the youth group and in the school is not great but is similar for all groups in that 22 to 28 percent report their four school friends are also members of the same youth group that they are. A minimal decrease from September to May occurs in the percentage who report that their network friends come out of the same school grade. This suggests that networks expand slightly beyond the same grade throughout the school year. There is a decline in the percentage of students who report that their four best friends are of the same sex, particularly in the Ethnic and Transfer groups. This suggests a higher degree of dating within the school than we find with the Public students. Not only are the Ethnic and Transfers related to more ethnically embedded social networks, but the Christian composition of their social networks is also higher than that in the public schools.

A final measure of the role and importance of social networks was operationalized by asking students to rank types of persons on a scale from one to six, according to the importance of their influence on the student throughout the school year. Most influential persons were given a rank of one, while least influential persons were given a rank of six. This information is summarized in Table V-16. For Ethnic and Transfer students friends at school were the most important source of influence and parents were the second most important source of influence. This order is reversed for Public students who reported that their parents were the most important source of influence and their friends at school the second most important source of influence. Comparing the three student groups on the importance of their school teachers, the Ethnic students ranked their school teachers third in influence, while the Transfer group ranked their teachers fifth in

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influence and the Public students ranked their teachers the least influential of the six types of persons. This can be anticipated since the Public students frequently may define their teachers as representing alien and contradictory value systems, and, consequently, the Public student may refuse to be influenced by the teachers. For the Public student, friends in the youth group and adults in the church are more important than they are for the Ethnic and Transfer students, who appear to see the most important sources of influence for themselves coming from the ethnic school.

Table V-16. Mean[1] Importance of Types of Persons Who Influenced Students During School Year

Types of persons	Ethnic N=345	Transfer N=102	Public N=102
School teachers	3.8 (3)[2]	3.9 (5)	4.4 (6)
Friends at school	2.3 (1)	2.4 (1)	2.8 (2)
Parents	2.9 (2)	3.0 (2)	2.7 (1)
Friends outside school	3.8 (3)	3.8 (4)	3.6 (3)
Friends in church youth group	3.8 (3)	3.7 (3)	3.6 (3)
Adults in church	4.5 (6)	4.5 (6)	4.1 (5)

[1] 1 = most influential, 6 = least influential

[2] Rank in parentheses

Perhaps one of the most important latent functions of the ethnic school is the fostering and development of social networks with a high degree of ethnic embeddedness. The ethnic school may not function in a manifest way to change attitudes and values drastically; however, as it fosters friendships with other Ethnics it can serve to increase ethnic group cohesion and to increase the amount of in-group ethnic orientation through marriage and continuing friendship patterns after high school. Transfer students especially seem to be vulnerable to influence from friends in the ethnic school and showed the greatest increase of ethnicity in their social networks as a result of ethnic school attendance.

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PERSONALITY TYPES FINDINGS

The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator was given to students at Lancaster Mennonite High School, the teachers, and seven members of the Board of Trustees. The preference of each group is displayed in Tables V-17 through V-20.

Feeling rather than thinking was strongly preferred by the students, faculty, and board members: 78 percent of the students and 89 percent of the faculty. According to the theory this would indicate that they tend to rely primarily upon feeling rather than thinking to discriminate between what is valued or not valued, between what for them is true or false. Feeling types tend to sympathize, emphasize personal values, and "feel" that human likes and dislikes are more important than logic. All seven of the board members were feeling types. They are fond of memories, heritage, tradition, and see change as frivolous (Osmond 1974:21-22).

The Mennonites tested strongly preferred sensing rather than intuition. This would imply that they tend to rely primarily on the familiar process of sensing, by which one is made aware of things directly through the five senses rather than by the less obvious process of intuition. Such individuals tend to be realistic, practical, observant, fun-loving, good at remembering and working with facts. They like to influence their environment in a physical, practical way. Seventy-five percent of both the students and the teachers preferred sensing.

The teachers and school board members differed from the students in the area of judgment and perception. All seven of the board members and 72 percent of the teachers preferred judgment to perception in dealing with the outer world. The students were quite equally divided between the two ways of thinking: 46 percent preferred judgment, 53 percent preferred perception. Those with a judging attitude tend to live in a planned, decided, orderly way, aiming to regulate life and control it. Those who prefer the perceptive attitude live in a flexible, spontaneous way, aiming to understand life and adapt to it.

Introversion-extraversion did not seem to be very significant, although there is some tendency toward introversion. Four of the seven board members were introverts, 51 percent of the students were introvert,

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Table V-17. Personality Types of Mennonite Students, Teachers, and School Board Members

Myers-Briggs Personality Types	Mennonite Students		Mennonite Teachers		Mennonite School Board Members	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-ISTJ, Introverted sensing with thinking	16	4	5	15	0	0
2-ISTP, Introverted thinking with sensing	17	4	0	0	0	0
3-ISFJ, Introverted sensing with feeling	78	20	10	30	3	43
4-ISFP, Introverted feeling with sensing	60	16	2	6	0	0
5-ESTP, Extraverted sensing with thinking	10	2	0	0	0	0
6-ESTJ, Extraverted thinking with sensing	9	2	0	0	0	0
7-ESFP, Extraverted sensing with feeling	42	11	3	9	0	0
8-ESFJ, Extraverted feeling with sensing	58	15	5	15	3	43
9-INFJ, Introverted intuition with feeling	4	1	1	3	1	14
10-INFP, Introverted feeling with intuition	16	4	3	9	0	0
11-ENFP, Extraverted intuition with feeling	42	11	0	0	0	0
12-ENFJ, Extraverted feeling with intuition	11	3	2	6	0	0
13-INTJ, Introverted intuition with thinking	2	1	1	3	0	0
14-INTP, Introverted thinking with intuition	5	1	0	0	0	0
15-ENTP, Extraverted intuition with thinking	10	3	1	3	0	0
16-ENTJ, Extraverted thinking with intuition	1	0	0	0	0	0

and 66 percent of the faculty. The four pairs of type differences are shown in Table V-18.

Table V-18. Preference Types of Students and Teachers on Myers-Briggs Type Indicator: Percentage Distribution

Type and Preference	Mennonite Students N=381	Mennonite Teachers N=33
EI - Preference for E	48	33
Preference for I	51	66
SN - Preference for S	75	75
Preference for N	24	24
TF - Preference for T	22	11
Preference for F	78	89
JP - Preference for J	46	72
Preference for P	53	27

The percentage frequencies of the 16 types for the students (N=381) and the teachers (N=33) follow in Table V-19. (See Myers 1962 for various other population samples.)

When the percentage frequencies for the Mennonite students and faculty are compared with those in selected religious, educational, and occupational groups (Table V-20), they rate lower in sensing and feeling types than the Hutterites or Amish, but they have a high rating (62 percent). When compared with occupational groups they are exceeded only by sales and customer-related employees. The next closest group are medical students, only 25 percent of whom are in the sensing-feeling type.

On the basis of the theory of this test, the most-skilled functions of the Mennonite students are least like science students and research scientists. Norms for six rural high schools in Pennsylvania for grades 11 and 12 were supplied by Isabelle Myers. These are shown in the last category of the top section of Table

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Table V-19. Sixteen Myers-Briggs Indicator Types for Students and Teachers: Percentage Distribution

Students

N=381

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
4	20	1	1
ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP
4	16	4	1
ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP
2	11	11	3
ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ
2	15	3	0

Teachers

N=33

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
15	30	3	3
ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP
0	6	9	0
ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP
0	9	0	3
ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ
0	15	6	0

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Table V-20. Mennonite School Population and Selected Religious, Educational, and Occupational Groups: Percentage Distribution

Group	N	Sensing + Thinking	Sensing + Feeling	Intuition + Feeling	Intuition + Thinking
Mennonite students	381	13	62	19	5
Mennonite teachers	33	15	60	18	6
Amish students	251	21	68	9	2
Hutterite adults	41	17	80	2	0
Pupils in six rural Pa. high schools[1]	1,298	34	40	13	11
Sales & customer relations employees	37	11	81	8	0
Medical students	2,597	23	25	25	27
Wharton School students	488	51	21	10	18
Liberal arts students	3,676	24	17	28	31
Theology students	99	3	15	57	25
College teachers	60	12	15	40	33
Engineering students	2,188	24	11	22	43
College grads. industry-hired	350	40	10	8	42
Science students	705	12	5	26	57
National Merit Finalists	671	13	4	30	53
Writers	17	12	0	65	23
Mathematicians	28	4	0	32	64
Architects	40	0	0	50	50
Creative men research scientists	30	0	0	23	77

Source: Myers 1973, Table D-7; Hostetler 1969, Table 23, p. 231.

*Grades 11 and 12 supplied by courtesty of Isabelle Myers.

V-20. Even though this high school group is the nearest in age and in education to the Mennonite students, the differences are still significant.

The Sensing type dislikes problems unless there are standard ways of solving them, doesn't mind routine, enjoys using skills he has already acquired in contrast to enjoying a new skill more than using it, works more steadily than the intuitive type who may work in bursts of energy powered with enthusiasm, and becomes impatient when there are too many complicated details to remember.

The Feeling type is very aware of other people and their feelings and likes to please people or help them, in contrast to the thinking types who may hurt peoples' feelings without knowing it, likes harmony in contrast to analysis; his efficiency may be badly disturbed by feuds, dislikes telling people unpleasant things, and finds it difficult to reprimand people or fire them when necessary.

The Judging type likes to plan his work and be able to get it finished on schedule instead of adapting to changing situations, does not have trouble making decisions but may decide things too quickly, does not like to start too many projects and finish too few, but may not notice new things which need to be done.

The Perceptive type (characteristic of 53 percent of the students and only 28 percent of the teachers) tends to be good at adapting to changing situations, may have trouble making decisions and may postpone unpleasant jobs.

The Sensing-Feeling type of individuals do well in occupations that deal with facts and involve structured social interaction and service (Myers 1973:64, Table E). The occupational choices indicated by the students indicate a high proportion of such occupations. For example, nursing, secretarial work, and teaching are outranked only by farming. Of the 47 percent who expect to continue their education beyond high school, a large number plan to go to technical or business school, into nurses training or to a church college.

ANALYSIS OF LEARNING POTENTIAL

The General Composite Standard Score

A comparison of Mennonite student performance with national norms is displayed in Table V-21 in the form of a composite standardized score. The general composite standard score (GCSS) functions as an index of the pupil's general capacity for school learning when the overall

performance is compared with a representative national sample of pupils who were at the same grade level and were making normal progress through school. The GCSS is a normalized general score having a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 15 for the particular age controlled grade sample. The GCSS is a general type of composite score reflecting performance on all nine subtests in the battery. Thus, the GCSS is a generalized predictor of school success derived from a series of measures developed specifically to assess various kinds of basic abilities requisite for academic learning. GCSS provides an estimate of school learning ability with respect to those pupils with whom a given individual must actually compete with in his grade.

Table V-21. Comparison of Mennonite Student Learning Potential with National Norms for Similar Grade

Percentile rank	Composite standard score range	National distribution percentage	Mennonite distribution percentage N=290
+ 98	+ 80	2	2
84 - 98	65 - 80	14	21
16 - 82	35 - 64	68	72
2 - 14	20 - 34	14	3
- 2	- 20	2	0
Mean		50.0	55.6
Standard deviation		15.0	11.6

Findings

A glance at Table V-21 indicates that the Mennonite distribution of GCSS scores is somewhat higher than the national distribution. While only 16 percent of the national distribution falls above the 84th percentile, 23 percent of the Mennonite distribution lies above the 84th percentile. Sixteen percent of the national distribution is below the 14th percentile, but only three percent of the Mennonite distribution falls in that category. The

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mean for the national distribution is 50 compared to the Mennonite mean of 55.6. The standard deviation for the national distribution is 15.0, while the Mennonite standard deviation is 11.6.

We do not have comparative data for Mennonite students in public schools. Since the test was given to Mennonite juniors in the spring semesters, this means that the Mennonite group represented in Table V-21 is basically Ethnic students. It includes only Transfers who have entered the Mennonite school as juniors in the fall of 1973.

In summary terms the data indicate that the Mennonite students' learning potential is equal to and superior to the learning potential of students in the general population.

VI. INDUCTIVE GENERALIZATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

PERSPECTIVE

In any study of high schools there is the basic question of whether or not schools, in fact, have any discernible influence on the children who pass through them. Some investigators suggest that the effect of different high schools on the pupils is so minimal that when all other factors are held constant there is no demonstrable difference among schools (Johnston 1973). Subjectively, most individuals tend to reject this notion, although hopefully people are moving away from the concept of the school as a cure for all evil (Dewey 1916, National Education Association 1918, Conant 1965) or the cause of most evil (Nordstrom 1967, Henry 1963, Kozol 1967, Reimer 1970) to a more modest assumption that "the school plays some significant part in the process of moral development" (Sugarman 1973:241).

Attempts to assess school impact on student attributes must incorporate three elements: (1) The research design must be longitudinal in nature to permit a study of changes which do or do not occur as a result of the schooling process. Without a time dimension a study at best can only reveal differences among student groups which correlate with particular educational environments, but it is impossible to determine whether or not such differences are the result of the schooling experience. (2) In addition to a temporal sequence school impact studies must carefully take into account family background factors which may provide alternative explanations for change. Most importantly, family background factors need to be measured to determine if "certain" types of students select to attend the school under consideration. (3) Comparable control groups are essential to a research design which attempts to measure school influence. Such groups allow the investigator to determine whether or not apparent changes are, in fact, the result of a particular school environment or just part of a maturational process common to all students.

Our research design incorporated these three essential elements. However, it needs to be underscored that our longitudinal design was quite conservative since it only permitted an assessment of change over a nine-month period of time. In this sense it was a conservatively

rigorous type of test to use in assessing the influence of a school environment. Ideally a design might contain a four or five year time frame in which cumulative changes occurring throughout a child's educational experience could be measured. Changes which we have found might actually be greater if monitored during a longer time interval. Factors which appeared stable and unaffected by the ethnic school environment might also have exhibited change characteristics when charted through a longer time lapse.

SUMMARY FINDINGS

Values

1. Mennonite adults and students displayed a different value orientation when compared with adults and students in the general United States population.

2. Mennonite parents manifested a greater degree of agreement regarding the relative importance of selected values than did Mennonite students.

3. Both students and parents have a strong religious orientation in their value configuration, which was indicated by the fact that all Mennonite groups ranked "salvation" as the most important terminal value.

Normative Activities

1. The three Mennonite student groups (Ethnic, Transfer, Public) made statistically significant changes in the direction of more traditional activities during the school year. The amount of change was greatest among the Ethnic students and lowest in the Public group. While the degree of change in the traditional direction was small, even those in the public school setting made a statistically significant change.

2. All three student categories were less traditionally oriented than their parents. The greatest parent-student discrepancy occurred between Ethnic parents and students and the least difference was found between Transfer parents and students.

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3. The three parental groups were not statistically different on their normative activities scores.

4. The mean group scores of the final (May) measure of normative activities were adjusted to account for differences in parental scores on normative activities and for student differences on the normative activities pretest (September). The adjusted means of the student groups remained statistically different and were ordered Ethnic, Transfer, and Public, respectively, from most to least traditional.

5. When controlling for family background differences and pretest differences, ethnic school attendance increased student attitudes toward traditional normative behaviors. The increase was greater for students who attended the school for a longer period of time.

Ethnicity

1. The three Mennonite student groups (Ethnic, Transfer, Public) increased in their degree of positive evaluation of their ethnic membership. However, the increase in the transfer group was minimal and not statistically significant.

2. All three of the student groups were less positive than their parents in their evaluation of their ethnic group membership. The parent-student discrepancy was greatest in the Ethnic category and least among the Transfers.

3. The three types of students were all similar to each other and much higher than their parents in reporting a subjective identity with the ethnic group.

4. The three parent groups were very similar in their evaluation of their ethnic group affiliation.

5. The mean group scores from the final measure of student ethnicity were adjusted to control for the effects of family background and variations on the pretest measure of ethnicity. The adjusted group means were essentially the same indicating that apart from family influence the school had little effect on increasing or decreasing the students' evaluation of their ethnic affiliation.

Orthodoxy

1. All student and parent groups scored very high on orthodox religious beliefs (as distinct from denominational beliefs) with minimal differences among groups.

2. The three student groups exhibited remarkable stability throughout the school year. The Ethnic students were slightly lower in the orthodoxy of their religious beliefs than the other two student groups at both measurements. Although the Ethnic students are less orthodox in regard to general religious beliefs, they are higher in sectarian belief orientation as evidenced by their higher endorsement of traditional activities.

3. The Ethnic students were the only ones which were lower than their parents at the first measurement. Although this discrepancy between parents and students in the Ethnic category was statistically significant it was not substantively very different.

4. The adjusted group means derived from the final measure of student orthodoxy were very similar when controlling for both pretest differences and parental orthodoxy. This indicates that the school had minimal effect on student orthodoxy. However, since orthodoxy was extremely high at the beginning of the school year there was very little potential for increase.

5. All the Mennonite students expressed a much higher degree of orthodoxy in their religious beliefs than the Non-Mennonite students in the public school.

Self-Esteem

1. The three student groups were not significantly different (statistically) from each other in their self-evaluation at the beginning or end of the school year.

2. Minimal changes occurred in all three groups throughout the school year in the direction of more positive self-esteem.

3. The Transfer and Public students were not different from their parents in their self-attitudes. The Ethnic students had a less positive self-concept compared with their parents but the difference was not great.

4. When the final self-concept scores were adjusted for parental self-concept and student variations on the pretest there were no significant differences between student groups which indicates minimal school impact on self-attitudes.

5. On a subjective measure of self-identity all student and parent groups revealed a high number of religious self-identifications.

Social Networks

1. Mennonite students and parents reported that four of their five closest friends are members of the Mennonite Church. This indicates a high degree of ethnic embeddedness of all the groups in their social networks.

2. Transfer students to the ethnic school displayed an increase in the ethnic composition of their social networks during the school year. The ethnic composition of the social networks of the Ethnic and Public groups remained stable.

Analysis of Learning Potential

The Mennonite students' distribution of learning potential scores is higher than the distribution of a national sample of students in comparative grades.

Personality Types

1. On the Myers-Briggs Indicator, the Mennonite students, teachers, and board members showed a strong tendency for feeling over thinking types and sensing over intuitive.

2. The staff had a higher percentage of judgmental types than did the student body.

In summary, the impact of the ethnic school on student attitudes was most influential in the area of normative activities. When parental attitudes and student pretest differences were controlled, the students who attended the school for the longest period of time gave the highest endorsement to traditional types of normative behaviors. The ethnic composition of social networks is increased through attendance at the high school. When parental characteristics and student differences on pretest measures were controlled, the school appeared to have minimal impact on student attitudes toward ethnicity, orthodoxy, and self-concept.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE ETHNIC HIGH SCHOOL

In a period of rapid social change and occupational transition the ethnic school plays a unique role which can be summarized as follows:

a. Increasing urbanization separates parents from their children for a larger portion of each day. Teachers in the ethnic school become important role models in the socialization process of the child. The school provides an opportunity for the growing child to relate to adults in the Mennonite community.

b. Mennonite children are spending fewer hours working on the family farm. Therefore, the impact of ethnic familial socialization is decreasing and the time spent in the ethnic school becomes more important for value internalization and for learning expected normative behavior within the ethnic group.

c. The urbanizing context provides fewer family oriented recreational experiences for the child. Therefore, the school becomes important as a setting where the child can participate in leisure and recreational activities while remaining in an ethnic environment.

d. The school is important in socializing the child into ethnic social networks. These reference groups which develop during high school become important nuclei of ethnicity for the adult. The graduate of the school has acquired membership in ethnic social networks, which are alternative reference groups to the secular occupational groups in which he will be working.

e. Rapid urbanization threatens the credibility of traditional ethnic folkways and poses an identity dilemma for the adolescent. The traditional ethnic solutions are questioned and the adolescent seeks alternative meanings for a new ethnic identity. The ethnic school is important in assisting the transformation from concrete ethnicity to abstract ethnicity. Experiences, such as taking the Mennonite History and Life course, participating in Anabaptist Emphasis Week, and hearing chapel speakers from affiliated groups, are important in restructuring the meaning of ethnicity. In these ways the school supports the shifting nature of ethnicity from everyday folkways to a more abstract appreciation of the past.

f. The primary focus of ethnicity is no longer solely on the local congregational level but is moving to an awareness of and identification with a national and international brotherhood. The school encourages the student to identify with a world-wide Mennonite community. The student learns to generalize his ethnic identification rather than only particularizing it in terms of his immediate congregation.

g. The school is important in mediating cognitive dissonance which arises as the student experiences value conflict between the traditional orientation of his parents and the secular orientation of modern society. In classroom discussions and in informal social networks the student learns the extent to which he can participate in contemporary society. The school constructs and perpetuates an ethnic definition of the "world" which prepares the child for both societal participation and ethnic identification. The student learns which national symbols are acceptable to the ethnic group and which ones must be rejected. The school plays an important role in teaching the child how to live in the secular environment while remaining ethnic.

h. The school formally and informally reinforces a religious view in a secular world. The students learn to interpret all details of daily life from a religious perspective. Students are taught to relate and integrate common experience with their religious faith.

i. The school provides the students with criteria for making value judgments. They are not only taught what is "right" and what is "wrong" today, but also that in a changing society each behavioral response and every change in the culture around them is either "good" or "bad."

Table A-1 · Normative Activities : Likert Scale Items

	Students			Parents			
	Ethnic N=345	Transfer N=102	Public N-102	Ethnic N=314	Transfer N=91	Public N=98	Teacher N=37
Traditional statements; per cent agreeing --							
Farming is still one of the best occupations.	45	46	51	63	62	63	32
It is important to kneel for congregational prayer.	17	11	20	39	38	50	27
Mennonites should not hold political offices of any kind.	30	33	17	51	40	42	33
The "lot" is still the best way to select a preacher.	44	38	33	41	37	52	22
A teenager should not go swimming with a friend of the opposite sex if they are dating.	7	9	8	41	49	25	24
It is preferable for ladies to wear cape dresses.	4	3	10	21	19	15	5
Women should wear their prayer veiling when they appear in public places.	28	20	26	63	68	67	44
Accapella singing (without instruments) should be the only type of music in the Sunday morning service.	18	11	12	45	32	37	32

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Table A-1. (Continued)

	Students			Parents			
	Ethnic N=345	Transfer N=102	Public N=102	Ethnic N=314	Transfer N=91	Public N=98	Teacher N=37
Men should not wear "short" (cut above the knee) trousers.	10	14	8	67	49	60	19
Fellows should not let their hair cover their ears.	7	3	9	59	45	64	35
It is best not to wear "bright" colored clothing.	5	4	1	28	27	34	19
It is best if men and women sit on separate sides of the church during Sunday morning worship.	2	3	7	20	7	15	5
The holy kiss should be expressed more often among church members.	37	42	44	47	66	62	51
Women with small children should not have a job outside their home.	68	67	63	84	75	77	60
Girls should not wear slacks to a youth group picnic.	15	14	17	53	49	43	35
It is improper to wear a floor length gown and a veil at a wedding in a Mennonite Church.	10	9	13	23	17	20	16

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Table A-1 (Continued)

	Students			Parents			
	Ethnic N=345	Transfer N=102	Public N=102	Ethnic N=314	Transfer N=91	Public N=98	Teacher N=37
Mennonite preachers should be required to wear a plain suit.	7	10	15	31	29	28	3
It is wrong to listen to "popular" music on the radio.	11	10	14	44	41	36	14
A nonordained member should not be allowed to preach in a Sunday morning service.	10	11	9	19	16	24	19
Emergent statements: percent disagreeing --							
There may be circumstances when it would be proper for a Mennonite to file a lawsuit against another person.	52	55	47	59	63	54	65
It is all right to place flowers at the front of the church auditorium.	5	9	6	19	12	21	8
Feetwashing is an outdated practice.	81	74	72	95	89	92	97
Ministers ought to serve on a full-time basis.	19	24	22	33	28	20	38

Table A-1. (Continued)

	Students			Parents			
	Ethnic N=345	Transfer N=102	Public N=102	Ethnic N=314	Transfer N=91	Public N=98	Teacher N=37
It is all right for a woman to be a congregational song leader.	10	11	11	30	19	32	11
It is all right to show religious films in the church auditorium.	4	2	3	19	12	17	0
Every family should have a television set.	64	62	41	83	68	63	81
There's nothing wrong with going to a high school dance.	63	60	41	94	86	82	84
There is nothing wrong with wearing a high school class ring.	24	23	17	60	60	50	48
It is all right to watch movies in a theatre.	18	21	10	66	59	60	33
Drama is an appropriate way to communicate the Gospel of Jesus Christ.	8	4	5	34	30	28	12
Mennonites should be allowed to marry non-Christians outside of the Mennonite Church.	58	49	42	81	71	79	62
It is all right if girls cut their hair short.	46	35	30	82	66	77	57

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Table A-1. (Continued)

	Students			Parents			
	Ethnic N=345	Transfer N=102	Public N=102	Ethnic N=314	Transfer N=91	Public N=98	Teacher N=37
Married couples should wear wedding bands.	24	23	11	62	54	59	62
It is all right to drink beer occasionally.	80	76	73	96	90	89	65
It is all right to play cards with poker cards.	26	33	30	81	82	70	43
It is all right to eat at a restaurant on Sunday.	18	17	14	50	48	33	27
It is all right to watch movies rated for "adults only" (R and X rated).	76	83	71	96	92	96	68
It is all right for girls to wear eye shadow.	29	31	34	81	72	79	51

Table A-2. Ethnicity: Likert Scale Items

	Students			Parents			
	Ethnic N=345	Transfer N=102	Public N=102	Ethnic N=314	Transfer N=91	Public N=98	Teacher N=37
Positive statements: per cent agreeing --							
I am glad when non-Mennonites find out that I am a Mennonite.	33	37	40	71	76	65	70
The Mennonite way of life is very important to me.	56	55	48	81	76	81	89
I'd rather belong to the Mennonite Church than any other denomination.	51	55	43	87	83	79	92
I am glad to be a member of the Mennonite Church.	75	83	72	97	91	97	94
I have a deep respect for our historic Mennonite beliefs.	56	56	46	93	86	87	94
I appreciate our Mennonite customs and traditions.	42	46	46	72	64	75	86
I have a strong feeling of attachment to our Mennonite heritage.	44	43	33	79	80	75	84
I think the Mennonite Church has an important message for the world today.	82	79	76	96	98	95	97

Table A-2. (Continued)

	Students			Parents			
	Ethnic N=345	Transfer N=102	Public N=102	Ethnic N=314	Transfer N=91	Public N=98	Teacher N=37
Negative statements: per cent disagreeing --							
Sometimes I am ashamed of some of our Mennonite practices.	18	18	30	45	36	52	35
I am not happy to be a Mennonite.	78	81	75	93	83	84	89
I don't receive much satisfaction from attending Mennonite church services.	58	60	62	95	91	93	79
Sometimes I wish that I were not a Mennonite.	34	38	35	84	82	81	81
I'd prefer if some of my friends didn't know that I go to a Mennonite Church.	73	72	66	98	91	89	97
For me, being a Mennonite has more bad points than good points.	70	77	68	96	92	92	95

82100

Table A-3. Orthodoxy: Likert Scale Items

	Non-Menn N=170	Students Ethnic N=345	Students Transfer N=102	Students Public N=102	Parents Ethnic N=314	Parents Transfer N=91	Parents Public N=98	Teacher N=37
Positive statements: per cent agreeing --								
I have no doubts about the fact that God really exists.	65	97	98	96	100	100	98	92
Jesus was not only human but also is the Divine Son of God.	67	99	100	99	100	100	100	97
I believe Jesus was born of a virgin.	51	96	97	97	99	99	98	84
I believe God created the earth and all living things in six 24-hour days.	27	44	45	58	61	59	73	11
I believe there was a flood in Noah's day which destroyed all human life except for Noah's family.	43	96	96	97	98	95	97	87
Satan, as a personal devil, is active in the world today.	53	99	98	96	97	99	93	92
I believe God has a divine plan for my life.	56	92	92	90	98	100	96	89

00179

Table A-3. (Continued)

	Non-Menn N=170	Students Ethnic N=345	Students Transfer N=102	Students Public N=102	Parents Ethnic N=314	Parents Transfer N=91	Parents Public N=98	Teacher N=37
All adults who die without accepting Christ as their personal saviour will spend eternity in Hell.	28	84	83	81	92	88	95	63
Jesus Christ is the only way to salvation for all men.	47	97	100	95	98	99	97	81
Negative statements: per cent disagreeing --								
I think the miracles in the Bible are stories about events that never really happened.	62	97	98	96	97	97	96	84
I believe Jesus' physical resurrection was a made-up story which didn't really happen.	69	100	99	97	99	97	99	95
I doubt if Jesus will ever return to earth again.	54	98	95	94	98	97	98	89
I doubt if there is life beyond death.	56	96	98	96	98	98	97	98

00180

Table A-3. (Continued)

	Non-Menn N=170	Students Ethnic N=345	Students Transfer N=102	Students Public N=102	Parents Ethnic N=314	Parents Transfer N=91	Parents Public N=98	Teacher N=37
I doubt if the Bible is actually the inspired Word of God.	58	99	100	97	97	96	98	95
I don't believe that there is a Holy Spirit.	65	99	96	77	98	99	94	95

001631

Table A-4 (Continued)

Components	Non-Menn. Students N=160	Parents N=411	Students			
			Total Mennonite N=515	Ethnic N=324	Transfer N=99	Public N=92
Pride-Selfish	0 (0)	21 (3)	3 (25)	3 (26)	3 (29)	4 (23)
Earth-Universe	6 (10)	6 (18)	3 (25)	3 (26)	4 (25)	3 (27)
Geography-travel	16 (5)	2 (33)	3 (25)	2 (30)	4 (25)	4 (23)
City	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (25)	4 (22)	3 (29)	1 (37)
Aesthetic, ie, beauty	8 (7)	0 (0)	2 (31)	1 (36)	3 (29)	3 (27)
Needing evangelism	1 (19)	6 (18)	2 (31)	2 (30)	7 (13)	2 (31)
Enemies opposed to God	0 (0)	9 (10)	1 (34)	1 (36)	2 (33)	0 (0)

[1]Percentage indicates the per cent of persons in a group who listed a particular item.

[2]Components are ordered according to total Mennonite student rank.

00182

Table A-4. Components of the Mennonite Perception of "World": Percentage Distribution[1] and Rank[2]

Components	Non-Menn. Students N=160		Parents N=411		Students							
					Total Mennonite N=515		Ethnic N=324		Transfer N=99		Public N=92	
Sin-evil	1	(19)	35	(1)	29	(1)	27	(1)	33	(1)	32	(1)
Alcoholic beverages	1	(19)	11	(8)	23	(2)	25	(2)	18	(5)	18	(5)
Unsaved persons	0	(0)	29	(2)	23	(2)	25	(2)	23	(3)	15	(7)
Sex, ie, Lust adultery	0	(0)	16	(6)	22	(4)	24	(4)	20	(4)	15	(7)
War	31	(3)	9	(10)	21	(5)	19	(5)	24	(2)	27	(3)
Masses of people	44	(1)	11	(8)	17	(6)	14	(7)	15	(6)	29	(2)
Drugs	0	(0)	3	(27)	14	(7)	15	(6)	14	(7)	10	(13)
Movies	1	(19)	7	(14)	12	(8)	13	(9)	8	(10)	11	(11)
Smoking	0	(0)	2	(33)	11	(9)	13	(9)	10	(9)	5	(19)
Fashions	0	(0)	8	(13)	10	(10)	14	(7)	4	(25)	7	(18)
Materialism	6	(4)	20	(4)	9	(11)	8	(12)	6	(18)	16	(6)
Hatred	7	(8)	7	(14)	9	(11)	7	(15)	6	(18)	19	(4)
Crime	1	(19)	5	(22)	9	(11)	9	(11)	5	(23)	13	(9)
Immorality	0	(0)	12	(7)	7	(14)	8	(12)	6	(18)	3	(27)
Devil-Satan	0	(0)	9	(10)	7	(14)	8	(12)	5	(23)	11	(11)
Dancing	1	(19)	2	(33)	7	(14)	7	(15)	7	(13)	5	(19)
Social problems	36	(2)	1	(38)	7	(14)	4	(22)	8	(10)	13	(9)
Recreation-nature	21	(4)	7	(14)	7	(14)	4	(22)	13	(8)	10	(13)
Politics	16	(5)	7	(14)	6	(18)	7	(15)	6	(18)	5	(19)
Unhappiness-troubles	3	(14)	3	(27)	5	(19)	5	(18)	4	(25)	5	(19)
Immodesty	0	(0)	2	(33)	5	(19)	5	(18)	7	(13)	3	(27)
Unethical, ie, cheating	3	(14)	6	(18)	4	(23)	6	(17)	3	(29)	2	(31)
Pleasure	4	(12)	18	(5)	3	(25)	5	(18)	2	(33)	2	(31)

00183

Table A-5. Components of the Meaning of Mennonite Identity: Percentage Distribution[1] and Rank[2]

Components	Parents and Teachers N=396	Total Mennonite Students N=501	Students		
			Ethnic N=321	Transfer N=93	Public N=87
Church attendance-membership	10 (14)	34 (1)	35 (1)	42 (1)	31 (1)
Separation from the world: general	28 (4)	31 (2)	30 (3)	37 (2)	28 (2)
Community-brotherhood	32 (2)	31 (2)	32 (2)	31 (3)	26 (3)
Wearing a prayer veiling	3 (21)	23 (4)	25 (4)	20 (4)	16 (8)
Attending a Mennonite school	0 (0)	18 (5)	25 (4)	11 (15)	0 (0)
Dressing differently	3 (21)	18 (5)	21 (6)	15 (6)	13 (2)
Separation from world: not doing specific things, ie, smoking	2 (27)	15 (7)	15 (7)	13 (10)	20 (4)
Relationship with God, ie, serving, following	16 (10)	14 (8)	13 (9)	15 (6)	14 (10)
Family, parents	8 (16)	13 (9)	7 (15)	13 (10)	8 (18)
Being a Christian	23 (7)	13 (9)	12 (10)	6 (15)	5 (18)
Witness to world-evangelism	31 (3)	12 (11)	10 (12)	12 (14)	18 (5)
Appreciation of heritage	6 (10)	12 (11)	15 (7)	5 (23)	6 (19)
Relationship with Christ, ie, following, serving	28 (4)	12 (11)	11 (11)	13 (10)	17 (7)
Nonresistance-peace	28 (4)	11 (14)	13 (9)	6 (21)	12 (14)
Persecution, ie, laughed at	2 (27)	10 (15)	10 (2)	9 (18)	12 (14)

00184

Table A-5. (Continued)

Components	Parents and Teachers N=396	Total Mennonite Students N=501	Students		
			Ethnic N=321	Transfer N=93	Public N=87
Spiritual experiences, ie, salvation	17 (8)	9 (16)	5 (22)	17 (5)	13 (12)
Meaningless ritual and tradition	0 (0)	8 (17)	8 (15)	7 (20)	9 (17)
Positive group acceptance	6 (18)	8 (17)	8 (15)	13 (10)	6 (19)
Following the Bible	35 (1)	8 (17)	7 (18)	10 (16)	5 (22)
Love	14 (21)	7 (20)	8 (15)	5 (23)	14 (10)
Service, helping, sharing	17 (8)	7 (20)	6 (20)	10 (16)	6 (19)
Happiness	7 (17)	7 (20)	6 (20)	8 (19)	15 (9)
Following Mennonite doctrines, beliefs	12 (13)	6 (23)	7 (18)	6 (21)	3 (25)
A total way of life	6 (18)	5 (24)	5 (22)	5 (23)	5 (22)
Religious ritual	3 (21)	4 (25)	5 (22)	4 (26)	5 (22)
Simplicity, thrift, stewardship	9 (15)	4 (25)	3 (36)	2 (31)	5 (22)
Identity-confusion	1 (30)	3 (27)	4 (25)	0 (0)	2 (27)

[1]Percentage indicates the per cent of persons in a group who listed a particular item in response to the question, "For me being a Mennonite means . . ."

[2]Components are ordered according to the total Mennonite student rank.

00185

Table A-6. Components of Mennonite Perception of "Good Changes" in the Church: Percentage Distribution[1] and Rank[2]

Components	Parents and Teachers N=391	Total Mennonite Students N=451	Students		
			Ethnic N=287	Transfer N=84	Public N=80
Less external emphasis on dress and appearance	12 (18)	34 (1)	36 (1)	30 (2)	30 (1)
Less traditional and strict	13 (6)	24 (2)	22 (4)	25 (4)	20 (3)
More special music and instruments	7 (15)	24 (2)	24 (3)	32 (1)	16 (7)
More evangelism	40 (1)	22 (4)	25 (2)	20 (6)	16 (7)
More youth involvement	27 (2)	21 (5)	16 (7)	30 (2)	29 (2)
More acceptance of different people and ideas in the church	18 (3)	18 (6)	20 (5)	12 (7)	20 (5)
More variety and meaning in worship services	8 (12)	17 (7)	18 (6)	12 (7)	6 (19)
More spiritual growth	11 (9)	14 (8)	14 (8)	9 (12)	4 (21)
More families sit together	6 (20)	12 (9)	9 (10)	24 (5)	10 (11)
More awareness of outside world	7 (15)	10 (10)	8 (12)	12 (7)	15 (9)
More acceptance of and contact with non-Mennonites	18 (3)	9 (11)	9 (10)	11 (10)	5 (15)
More emphasis on the Holy Spirit	16 (5)	8 (12)	10 (9)	8 (13)	0 (0)
Better leadership	7 (15)	7 (13)	5 (16)	6 (15)	14 (10)
Greater use of films	0 (0)	6 (14)	6 (13)	7 (14)	6 (14)
More fellowship	7 (15)	6 (14)	6 (13)	4 (17)	9 (12)
More Bible study	11 (9)	6 (14)	6 (13)	10 (11)	3 (20)
More unity among members	3 (25)	4 (17)	5 (16)	2 (20)	5 (15)

00186

Table A-6. (Continued)

Components	Parents and Teachers N=391	Total Mennonite Students N=451	Students Ethnic N=287	Students Transfer N=84	Students Public N=80
More congregational control & participation	10 (11)	4 (17)	5 (16)	2 (20)	1 (21)
More activities	4 (23)	3 (20)	3 (19)	0 (0)	5 (15)
Less use of prayer veiling	0 (0)	3 (20)	3 (19)	4 (17)	4 (19)
More Mennonite schools	7 (15)	2 (22)	2 (22)	4 (17)	0 (0)
More service opportunities such as Mennonite Disaster Service	13 (6)	2 (22)	1 (23)	0 (0)	8 (13)
More Voluntary Service	8 (12)	1 (24)	1 (23)	1 (24)	0 (0)
More ministerial support	5 (21)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
More financial giving	5 (21)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)

[1]Percentage indicates the per cent of persons in a group who listed a particular item in response to the question, "What are some of the 'good changes' taking place in the Mennonite Church?"

[2]Components are ordered according to the total Mennonite student rank.

00187

Table A-7 Components of Mennonite Perception of "Bad Changes" in the Church: Percentage Distribution[1] and Rank[2]

Components	Parents and Teachers N=369	Total Mennonite Students N=386	Students Ethnic N=258	Students Transfer N=67	Students Public N=61
Conformity to the world	35 (1)	22 (1)	21 (1)	25 (1)	25 (1)
Worldly dress styles	28 (2)	20 (2)	21 (1)	19 (3)	18 (3)
In-group bickering, disagreements	5 (15)	18 (3)	17 (3)	16 (4)	23 (2)
Less wearing of prayer veiling	17 (5)	17 (4)	17 (3)	24 (2)	10 (8)
Spiritual coldness	7 (12)	14 (5)	15 (5)	13 (5)	11 (7)
Worldly hair styles	18 (4)	12 (6)	14 (6)	10 (7)	8 (10)
Too traditional	1 (34)	11 (7)	10 (8)	13 (5)	15 (4)
Materialism	27 (3)	10 (8)	12 (7)	4 (12)	8 (10)
Divisions in the church	5 (15)	9 (9)	10 (8)	3 (17)	7 (13)
Lower church attendance	5 (15)	9 (9)	8 (10)	9 (9)	13 (5)
Disobedience to Bible and church rules	15 (6)	9 (9)	8 (10)	10 (7)	13 (5)
Expensive church buildings	4 (12)	7 (12)	8 (10)	4 (12)	5 (15)
Type of entertainment	8 (10)	6 (13)	7 (14)	1 (21)	7 (13)
Poor leadership	11 (7)	6 (13)	4 (17)	3 (17)	10 (8)
Smoking	0 (0)	5 (15)	5 (16)	7 (10)	2 (19)
Consumption of alcohol	2 (31)	4 (16)	6 (15)	1 (21)	2 (19)
Pride	3 (24)	4 (16)	3 (19)	4 (12)	5 (15)
Wearing of jewelry	10 (8)	3 (18)	4 (17)	1 (21)	0 (0)

00188

Table A-7. (Continued)

Components	Parents and Teachers N=369	Total Menn. Students N=386	Students Ethnic N=258	Students Transfer N=67	Students Public N=61
Loss of brotherhood	8 (10)	2 (21)	2 (22)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Theological liberalism	5 (15)	2 (21)	2 (22)	3 (17)	3 (17)
Divorce	4 (22)	2 (21)	1 (28)	1 (21)	3 (17)
Immodesty	5 (15)	2 (21)	1 (28)	7 (10)	0 (0)
Political involvement	7 (12)	1 (28)	1 (28)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Less faith in Bible	9 (9)	1 (28)	1 (28)	0 (0)	2 (19)
Television	5 (19)	1 (28)	2 (22)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Nationalism	5 (15)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (21)	0 (0)

[1]Percentage indicates the per cent of persons in a group who listed a particular item in response to the question, "What are some of the 'good changes' taking place in the Mennonite Church?"

[2]Components are ordered according to the total Mennonite student rank.

00189

TABLE A-8. Zero Order Correlation Matrix of Major Dependent Variables.

	EI	EII	EP	NI	NII	NP	OI	OII	OP	SI	SII	SP
EI		.57*	.08	.46*	.52*	-.01	.37*	.35	.06	.17*	.14*	.10
EII			.14*	.38*	.59*	.08	.43*	.61*	.11*	.13*	.16*	.12*
EP				.08	.14*	.44*	.17*	.11*	.35*	-.00	-.09	.14*
NI					.80*	.41*	.05	.13*	-.11	-.08	-.00	.11*
NII						.39*	.13*	.30*	-.09	-.04	.04	.19*
NP							-.02	.08	.13*	-.07	-.05	-.01
OI								.65*	.30*	.24*	-.00	-.21*
OII									.21*	.16*	.06	-.13*
OP										.01	-.21*	-.07
SI											.54*	.01
SII												.14*
SP												

*P < .01

EI = Student Ethnicity, September 1973
EII= Student Ethnicity, May 1974
EP = Parent Ethnicity, Fall 1973
NI = Student Normative Activities, September 1973
NII= Student Normative Activities, May 1974
NP = Parent Normative Activities, Fall 1973
OI = Student Orthodoxy, September 1973
OII= Student Orthodoxy, May 1974
OP = Parent Orthodoxy, Fall 1973
SI = Student Self-Esteem, September 1973
SII= Student Self-Esteem, May 1974
SP = Parent Self-Esteem, Fall 1973

00190

Table A-9. Theme Changes in Senior Class Songs, 1944-1973.

A. Belief Component Change: Rank ordered by percentage decrease.	1944-58 (N=15)	1959-73 N=15)	Decrease
1. Heaven	66	13	53
2. Satan	33	0	33
3. Christ as a personal guide	66	33	33
4. Following Christ's example	60	33	27
5. Praise to deity	40	13	27
6. Battle and/or strife	40	20	20
7. Trust in deity	33	13	20
8. Service to others	40	20	20
9. Christ's death	47	33	14
10. Sin	33	20	13
11. Debt repayment	26	13	13
12. God's will	53	40	13

B. Belief Component Change: Rank ordered by percentage increase.	1944-58 (N=15)	1959-73 (N=15)	Decrease
1. God's love to man	33	60	27
2. Evangelism	26	47	21
3. Light	13	33	20
4. Offering student lives to deity	40	60	20
5. Man's free will	53	66	13
6. Petitions to deity	53	60	7

00191

Table A-9. (Continued)

C. Rank Ordering of Belief Components in Class Songs: Frequency of appearance (1944-1973).

	Percent	Frequency
1. Man's free will	70	21
2. Petitions to deity	56	17
3. Christ as a personal guide	50	15
4. Offering student lives to deity	50	15
5. Following Christ's example	46	14
6. God's will	46	14
7. God's love to man	46	14
8. Heaven	40	12
9. Christ's death	40	12
10. Evangelism	36	11
11. Darkness	33	10
12. Battle and/or strife	30	9
13. Service to others	30	9
14. Praise to deity	26	8
15. Sin	26	8
16. Presence of deity	26	8
17. Light	23	7
18. Trust in deity	23	7
19. Debt repayment to God	20	6
20. Satan	16	5
21. Man's love to God	13	4

APPENDIX B

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TYPES IN HIGH SCHOOL

SENSING TYPES

	WITH THINKING	WITH FEELING
INTROVERTS JUDGING	**ISTJ** Serious, quiet, earns his success by earnest concentration and unhurried thoroughness. Logical and orderly in his work and dependable in all he does. Sees to it that everything he touches is well organized. Takes responsibility of his own accord. Makes up his own mind as to what should be accomplished and works toward it steadily, regardless of protests or distractions.	**ISFJ** Quiet, friendly, responsible and conscientious. Works devotedly to meet his obligations and serve his friends and school. Thorough and painstaking, accurate with figures, but needs time to master technical subjects, as reasoning is not his strong point. Patient with detail and routine. Loyal, considerate, concerned with how other people feel even when they are in the wrong.
INTROVERTS PERCEPTIVE	**ISTP** Quiet, reserved, a sort of cool onlooker at life, observing and analyzing it with detached curiosity and unexpected flashes of original humor. Interested mainly in mechanics, in cars, in sports and in business. Exerts himself only as much as he considers actually necessary, even if he happens to be a star athlete.	**ISFP** Retiring, quietly friendly, sensitive, hates argument of any kind, is always too modest about his abilities. Has no wish to be a leader, but is a loyal, willing follower. Puts things off to the last minute and beyond. Never really drives himself about anything, because he enjoys the present moment and does not want it spoiled.
EXTRAVERTS PERCEPTIVE	**ESTP** Matter-of-fact, doesn't worry or hurry, always has a good time. Likes mechanical things, cars and sports, with friends on the side. A little blunt and insensitive. Can take school or leave it. Won't bother to follow a wordy explanation, but comes alive when there is something real to be worked, handled or taken apart. Can do math and technical stuff when he sees he will need it.	**ESFP** Outgoing, easygoing, uncritical, friendly, very fond of a good time. Enjoys sports and making things, restless if he has to sit still. Knows what's happening and joins in helpfully. Literal-minded, tries to remember rather than to reason, is easily confused by theory. Has good common sense and practical ability, but is not at all interested in study for its own sake.
EXTRAVERTS JUDGING	**ESTJ** Practical, realistic, matter-of-fact, with a natural head for business. Likes the mechanics of things. Not interested in subjects that he sees no actual use for, but can apply himself when necessary. Is good at organizing and running school activities, but sometimes rubs people the wrong way by ignoring their feelings and viewpoints.	**ESFJ** Warm-hearted, talkative, popular, conscientious, interested in everyone, a born cooperator and active committee member. Has no capacity for analysis or abstract thinking, and so has trouble with technical subjects, but works hard to master the facts in a lesson and win approval. Works best with plenty of praise and encouragement. Always doing something nice for someone in a practical way.

00193

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TYPES IN HIGH SCHOOL

INTUITIVES

WITH FEELING	WITH THINKING
INFJ Gifted and original student who succeeds through combination of intelligence, perseverance, and desire to please. Puts his best efforts into his work because he wouldn't think of doing less than his best. Quiet, conscientious, considerate of others, widely respected if not popular, but suffers socially from unwillingness to compromise where a principle or conviction is involved	**INTJ** Has a very original mind and a great amount of drive which he uses only when it pleases him. In fields which appeal to his imagination he has a fine power to organize a job or piece of work and carry it through with or without the help of others. He is always sceptical, critical and independent, generally determined, and often stubborn. Can never be driven, seldom led.
INFP Particularly enthusiastic about books, reads or tells the parts he likes best to his friends. Interested and responsive in class, always attentive and quick to see what the teacher is leading up to. Has a warm, friendly personality but is not sociable just for the sake of sociability and seldom puts his mind on his possessions or physical surroundings.	**INTP** Quiet, reserved, brilliant in exams, especially in theoretical or scientific subjects. Logical to the point of hair-splitting. Has no capacity for small talk and is uncomfortable at parties. Primarily interested in his studies and wouldn't care to be president of his class. Liked by his teachers for his scholarship and by the few fellow-students who get to know him for himself.
ENFP Warmly enthusiastic, high-spirited, ingenious, imaginative, can do almost anything that interests him. Quick with a solution for any difficulty and very ready to help people with a problem on their hands. Often relies on his spur-of-the-moment ability to improvise instead of preparing his work in advance. Can usually talk his way out of any jam with charm and ease.	**ENTP** Quick, ingenious, gifted in many lines, lively and stimulating company, alert and outspoken, argues for fun on either side of any question. Resourceful in solving new and challenging problems, but tends to neglect routine assignments as a boring waste of time. Turns to one new interest after another. Can always find excellent reasons for whatever he wants.
ENFJ Responsive and responsible. Feels a real concern for what others think and want, and tries always to handle things with due regard for the other fellow's feelings and desires. Can lead a group discussion or present a proposal with ease and tact. Sociable, popular, active in school affairs, but puts time enough on his lessons to do good work.	**ENTJ** Hearty, frank, able in studies and a leader in activities. Particularly good in anything requiring reasoning and intelligent talk, like debating or public speaking. Well-informed and keeps adding to his fund of knowledge. May be a bit too positive in matters where his experience has not yet caught up with his self-confidence.

INTROVERTS JUDGING PERCEPTIVE

EXTRAVERTS PERCEPTIVE JUDGING

00194

APPENDIX C

DESCRIPTION OF NINE SUB-TESTS FROM WHICH THE GENERAL COMPOSITE STANDARDIZED SCORE IS DERIVED

Test 1: Word Meaning. The 38 items in this test assess the ability to recognize whether pairs of words are the same, the opposite, or neither in meaning. Knowledge of word meanings was presumed to underlie success in those curricular areas requiring the use and understanding of language.

Test 2: Number Relations. The 16 items in this test assess the ability to educe the number relation of two ordered pairs, and to apply this relation in constructing a third ordered pair. It was hypothesized that this is an ability essential for success in mathematics.

Test 3: Word Categories. Each of the 34 words in this test must be classified in one of four categories. The test was devised to sample a variety of reasoning abilities believed to underlie success in a number of school subjects.

Test 4: Spatial Reasoning. The 18 items in this test measure certain two-dimensional and three-dimensional spatial visualization abilities. It was hypothesized that these spatial abilities might be important for success in scientific and technical subjects.

Test 5: Number Fluency. The 20 items in this test measure facility in performing the basic number operations with two- and three-digit numerals.

Test 6: Number Operations Reasoning. The 17 items in this test measure insight into the algorithm of a number operation. Solving the items requires discovering the appropriate operation, and then supplying the missing numeral. Emphasis is placed upon measuring basic algorithms essential for success in mathematics.

Test 7: Word Clues. The 20 items in this test assess the ability to supply contextual synonyms--an important element in reading. An aided recall format is employed to approximate more closely the reading process.

Test 8: Syntactic Clues. The 20 items in this test use a carefully devised artificial language to assess generalization of language with respect to morphemes and syntax. It was hypothesized that this type of language analysis task underlies success in the language arts and foreign language areas.

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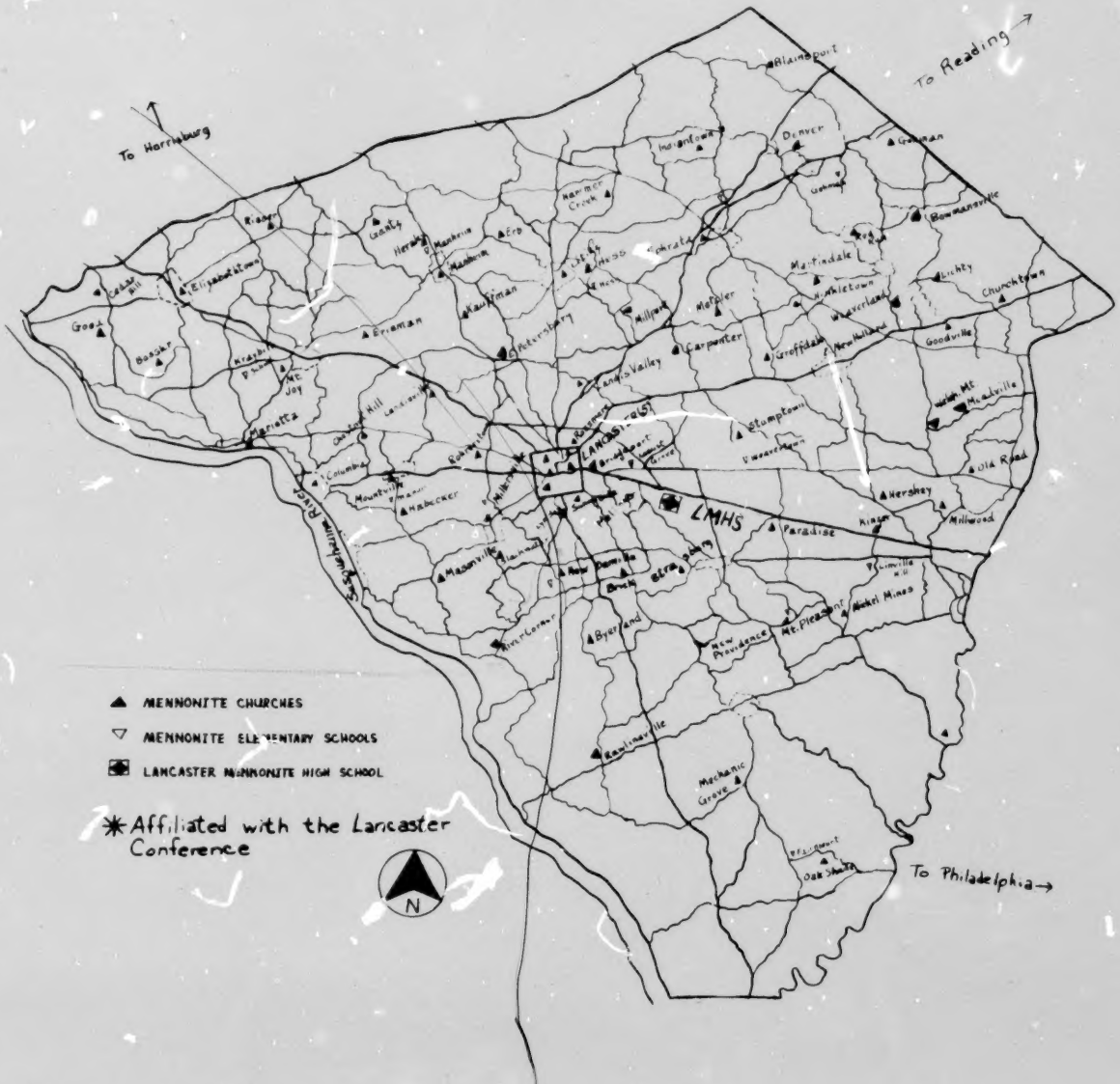
Test 9: Evidence Evaluation. The 25 items in this test consist of statements of evidence relating to a particular situation. The validity of the original conclusion must be evaluated in view of the new evidence presented. This logical reasoning ability was presumed to underlie success in a number of curricular areas.

00196

APPENDIX D

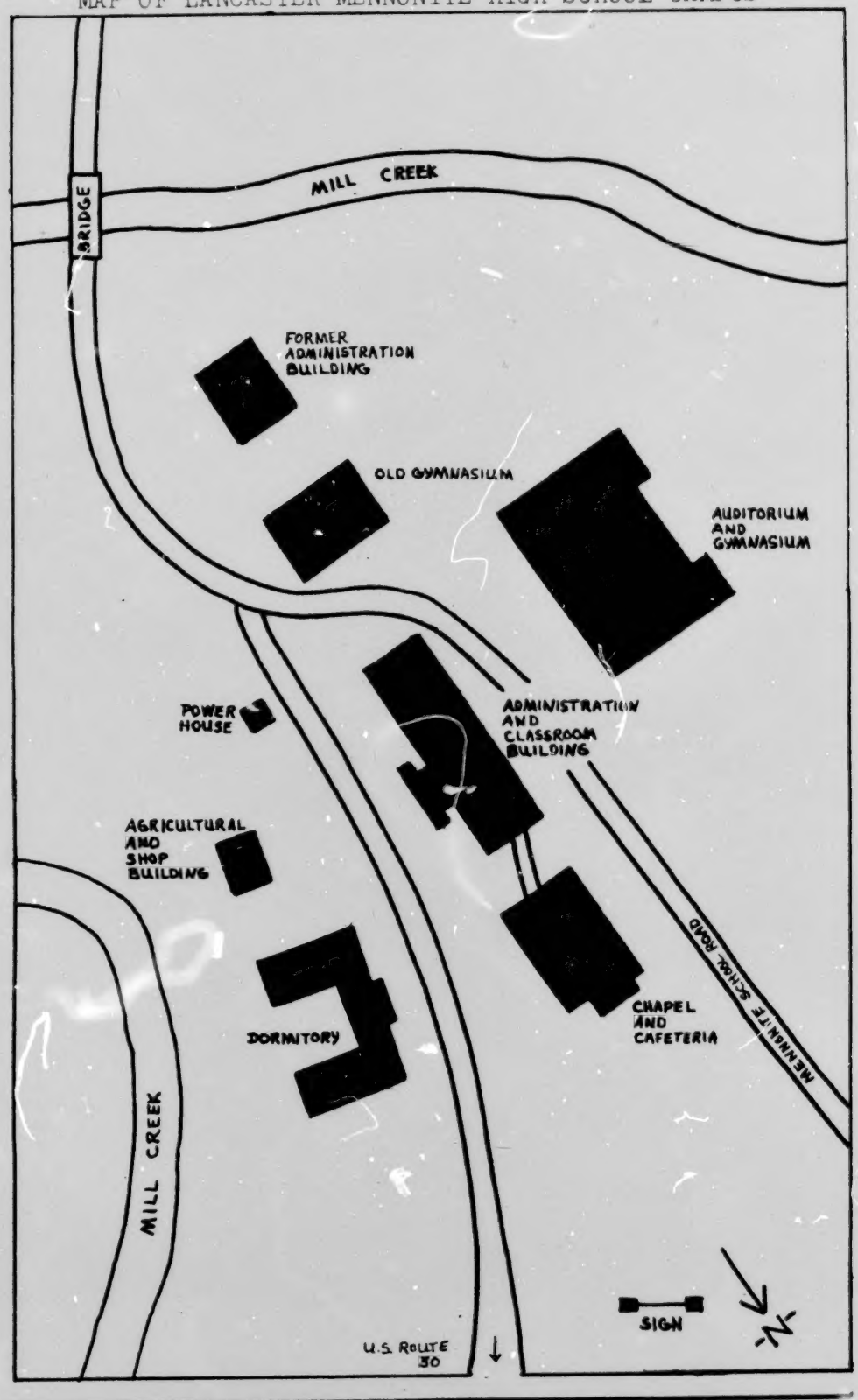
MAP OF MENNONITE* CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS IN LANCASTER COUNTY, PA.



00197

APPENDIX E

MAP OF LANCASTER MENNONITE HIGH SCHOOL CAMPUS



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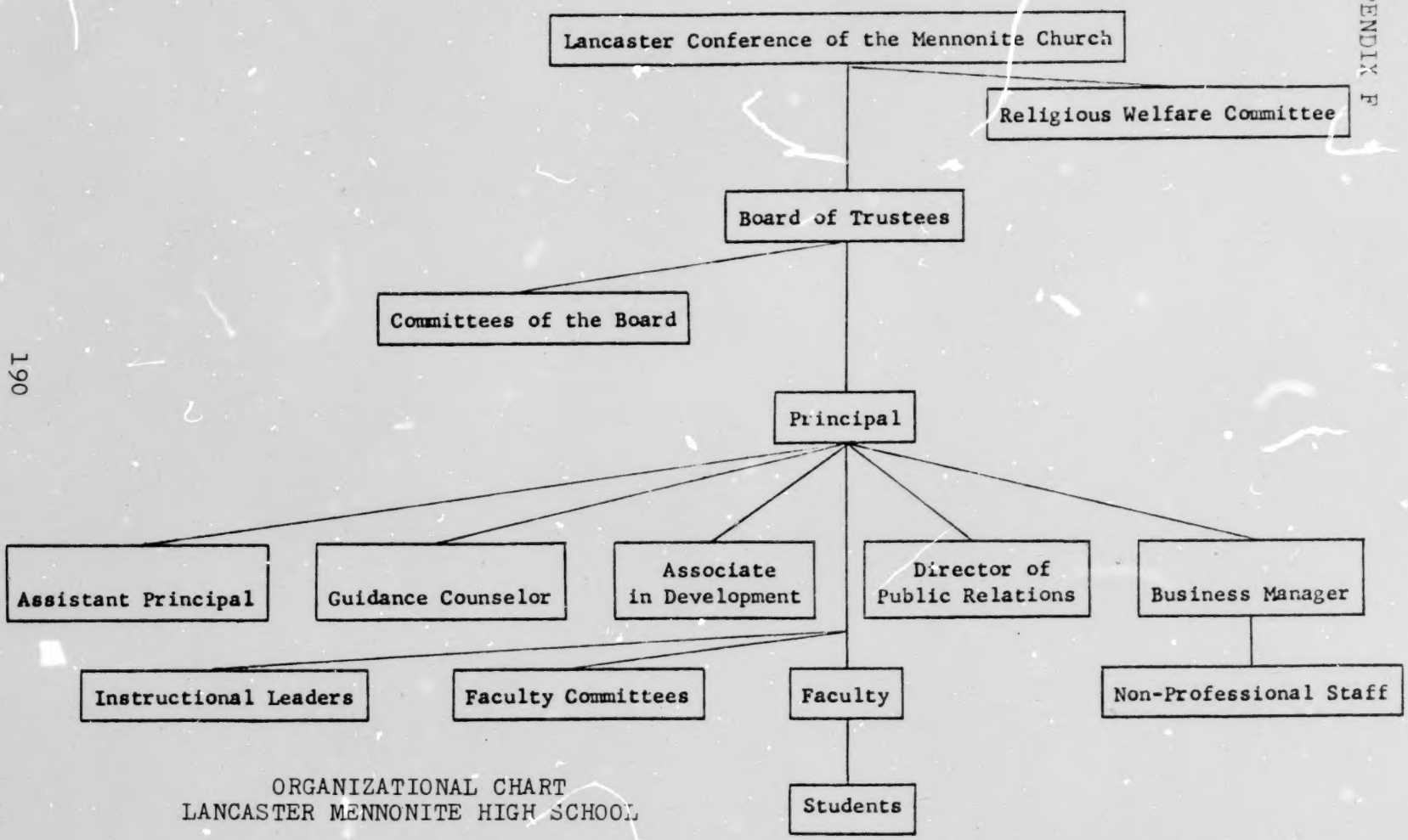

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
LANCASTER MENNONITE HIGH SCHOOL

APPENDIX G

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
of the
Lancaster Mennonite Conference Schools
October 3, 1941

We, the Board of Bishops of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, in accordance with Conference action and pursuant to authority granted by Certificate of Incorporation by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, do prayerfully and solemnly, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, ordain and establish the following Constitution and By-laws.

ARTICLE I

Name

The organization shall be known as the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Schools.

ARTICLE II

Office of the Organization

The principal office of the organization shall be in the Lancaster Mennonite School, Route 4, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

ARTICLE III

Object and Aims

Sec. 1. Since God's solemn command imposes a sacred duty upon parents to teach their children (Deut. 6:5-7; Eph. 6:4; II Tim. 3:15), the organization shall assist the parents and the Church in the task of educating their young people and to such end shall establish a high school and such other schools as the organization may from time to time determine.

Sec. 2. It shall be the object of these schools:

a. To indoctrinate young people in the Word of God and to acquaint them with the teachings of the Mennonite Church.

b. To provide training under Christian influence and environment for the development of Christian character.

c. To foster a lasting interest in and love for the Church and to prepare young people for future usefulness.

d. To guide the youth in social relationships and to assist them to become law-abiding and useful citizens.

Sec. 3. It shall be the aim of these schools to give the Bible its proper place in each course of study and to encourage students to make it their constant companion and rule of life.

Sec. 4. In order to carry out these objects and aims, the organization shall establish schools under its supervision and provide facilities for all who desire a Christian education in accordance with these safeguards.

ARTICLE IV

Organization

Sec. 1. The Board of Bishops of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference shall have full control and supervision of the organization and all its activities and of the schools established under its authority.

Sec. 2. The Board of Bishops of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference shall appoint three of their number to constitute a Religious Welfare Committee who shall act for and in behalf of the Board of Bishops in controlling and supervising the organization and its schools. The members of the Religious Welfare Committee shall be appointed for a term of three years.

Sec. 3. There shall be a Board of Trustees consisting of twelve members to be elected by this Conference from nominations submitted by the Board of Bishops, of which four shall be elected annually.

The term of office of the members of the Board of Trustees shall be three years.

Sec. 4. By the approval and recommendation of the Religious Welfare Committee to the Board of Trustees, other Conferences may be permitted to elect additional members to the Board of Trustees.

Sec. 5. The Board of Trustees shall be the responsible agency of the Conference for the conducting of a high school to be known as the Lancaster Mennonite School.

Sec. 6. The Board of Trustees shall appoint a committee of three of its number to act as an agency for consultative and economic relations with elementary school organizations.

ARTICLE V

Qualifications of Members of the Board of Trustees

Sec. 1. Board members shall be members in good standing in the Mennonite Church in their local congregations, who have exemplified a life of faith and loyalty to the Word of God, in harmony with the standards held by the Lancaster Mennonite Conference. They shall also manifest an interest in the spiritual life and Christian education of our children.

ARTICLE VI

Officers and Committees of the Board of Trustees

Sec. 1. The officers shall consist of a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer and two Board members shall constitute a Finance Committee.

Sec. 3. Other committees may be provided as the need arises.

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ARTICLE VII

Duties of Officers and Committees of the Board of Trustees

Sec. 1. It shall be the duty of the Chairman to call and preside at all meetings and perform such other duties as pertain to his office.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the Vice-chairman to preside in the absence of the Chairman or at his direction.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep a full and complete record of all meetings of the Board, to serve as correspondent and to be custodian of all records, papers, etc., of the Board, and to have charge of the Corporate seal.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to keep an accurate record of all the finances of the Board, serve as custodian of all funds held by the Board, and make disbursements as the Board may authorize.

The Treasurer shall give a properly audited report of the financial work of the Board, annually, and at such other times as the Board may desire.

Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the Finance Committee to have general oversight of the finances of the Board, to take such steps as may be necessary to provide for the work, and to assist in keeping the same within the limits of their resources.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of the Religious Welfare Committee:

a. To advise and assist the Board and faculties in developing a strong religious spirit in the schools.

b. To promote the best relations possible between all bodies represented.

c. To recommend such measures as would further the interest of the work whenever advisable.

d. To contact prospective teachers, and upon contact, examination, and approval, make recommendations to the Board of Trustees for their election and appointment.

e. To attend all meetings of the Board. They shall have final authority in the dismissal of any officer or teacher.

ARTICLE VIII

Regular and Special Meetings

Sec. 1. The Board of Trustees shall have an annual public meeting at the close of the school year at which time reports shall be submitted and other necessary business transacted.

Sec. 2. The Board of Trustees shall meet monthly at such time and place as the Secretary may indicate. Special meetings may be called at any time by the Chairman and Secretary.

Sec. 3. Three fourths of the members of the Board shall constitute a quorum to do business.

ARTICLE IX

Supervision of the High School

Sec. 1. The Board of Trustees shall have general oversight in the development, management, and conducting of the high school.

Sec. 2. The immediate Supervising Committee of the high school shall consist of the Principal, the Dean, and the Secretary-Treasurer.

The Principal shall be elected by the Board of Bishops of this Conference. The Dean and the Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected by the Board of Trustees from nominations by the Religious Welfare Committee and the officers of the Board of Trustees.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Principal to preside at devotional exercises and functions of the school, to be responsible for its development and for the deportment and the standards upheld, to have general supervision of the institution, to make an annual report to the Board of Trustees and Conference, and to endeavor to make the institution in every way possible a servant of the Church.

It shall be the duty of the Dean, in co-operation with the Supervising Committee, to direct the educational work of the institution, and, in the absence of the principal, or by his direction, serve as chairman of the faculty.

It shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to keep a record of all meetings held by the Supervising Committee, serve as correspondent for the committee, and perform such other duties as pertain to the office or such as may be assigned by the Board of Trustees.

Sec. 4. The teachers of the high school and such other officers as may be deemed necessary for the efficient management and conduct of the high school shall be elected in the same manner in which the Dean and the Secretary-Treasurer are elected, as provided for in Sec. 2.

Sec. 5. In addition to the necessary professional and spiritual qualifications, all officers shall qualify in and subscribe to the doctrinal standards set forth by the Mennonite Confession of Faith. They shall exemplify and adopt the full order according to Art. 23 of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Discipline, and shall also be free from any relationship with questionable organizations.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of the Supervising Committee to recommend prospective teach-

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ers to the Religious Welfare Committee for consideration.

It shall also be their duty to select textbooks and seek to safeguard the school in such selections.

ARTICLE X

Qualifications of the Teachers

Sec. 1. In addition to the necessary professional qualifications for successful teaching, only such teachers shall be employed as are members of the Mennonite Church in full harmony with the Doctrine and Discipline of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, being examples of the believers in spirituality, separation from the world, including plainness and regulation of attire as interpreted by Conference, and free from all unscriptural teaching, such as evolution, higher criticism, etc. All teachers upon being engaged shall pledge their loyalty to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference and shall teach in full harmony with and nothing contrary thereto.

ARTICLE XI

Bible Schools

Sec. 1. The Board of Trustees shall facilitate the Bible school in connection with the high school and direct other courses of religious instruction that are approved by the Religious Welfare Committee.

Sec. 2. The agency authorized by the Board of Bishops shall select administrative officials and teachers for the Bible school.

The qualifications for such officials and teachers shall be in accordance with the standards as are set forth in Article IX, Sec. 5.

ARTICLE XII

Elementary Schools

Sec. 1. All elementary schools organized in this Conference district shall be supervised by the three trustees appointed by the Board of Trustees, who shall assist in co-ordinating their work as indicated in Article IV, Sec. 6, of this Constitution and By-laws.

Sec. 2. Directors of elementary schools shall have the same qualifications as Board members, as indicated in Article V, Sec. 1, and shall be elected by members in the community from nominations by the bishop and local ministry of the congregation or congregations respectively, in a meeting called for that purpose.

Sec. 3. The bishop and local ministry shall have the same relation to the work as the Religious Welfare Committee has to the high school.

All local units shall be subject to the advice of the Religious Welfare Committee.

Sec. 4. Each local unit shall operate on its own financial budget and shall keep the work within the limits of its resources.

Sec. 5. Teachers' qualifications shall be the same as indicated in Article X, Sec. 1, of this Constitution and By-laws.

Sec. 6. Regulations and safeguards appearing in this statement apply to each local unit.

ARTICLE XIII

School Finances

Sec. 1. The Board of Trustees shall seek to operate the high school and the other schools and courses of instruction herein provided for within the limits of available financial resources.

Sec. 2. The sources of financial support for these schools shall be from tuition fees and charges to the students attending the same and from contributions and gifts given by the Church and friends of Christian education.

Sec. 3. The Board of Trustees shall make provision to aid worthy students who are financially unable to pay the regular tuition charges, fees, and expenses.

ARTICLE XIV

Safeguards for All Schools

Sec. 1. All schools shall abide by the standards of the State so far as their requirements do not conflict with the teachings of the Word of God.

Sec. 2. All instruction, in subjects taught, shall be in harmony with the Word of God and the Rules and Discipline of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference.

Sec. 3. Literature and textbooks with the least possible error shall be used in these schools.

In all cases where textbooks and courses of study differ from the Bible, the Bible shall be the final authority.

Sec. 4. No person who is known to be a member of a secret, militaristic, or oath-bound order shall be admitted as a student of these schools.

Sec. 5. All forms of malicious and unbecoming conduct and profane language among students shall not be tolerated.

Sec. 6. Musical instruments and radios shall not form any part of the school equipment nor be used on the school premises.

Sec. 7. The use of tobacco in its various forms and of intoxicating drinks is prohibited.

Sec. 8. Any person introducing or handling obscene literature, etc., is subject to expulsion from the school.

Sec. 9. The Supervising Committee shall have oversight of the recreation and physical exercises of students, but all public contests in games are prohibited.

Sec. 10. There shall be a concerted effort in all phases of school work to foster a missionary spirit and a sense of world needs in order to prevent an attitude of exclusiveness in the Church.

ARTICLE XV

Amendments

Sec. 1. All sections in this Constitution pertaining to the organization and extension of the school are subject to amendment by the Board of Trustees and the approval of the Board of Bishops according to Article IX, Sec. 1.

Sec. 2. All sections relative to principles and safeguard features shall be changed only by the consent of Conference.

00202

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS of the LANCASTER MENNONITE CONFERENCE SCHOOLS

October 3, 1941

Revised July, 1966

Revised March 17, 1970

REVISION OF CONSTITUTION OF THE LANCASTER MENNONITE CONFERENCE SCHOOLS

Pursuant to action of the Lancaster Conference of the Mennonite Church on October 3, 1941 and to authority granted by Certificate of Incorporation by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania the following Constitution is established prayerfully and solemnly, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

ARTICLE I

Name

The organization shall be known as the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Schools.

ARTICLE II

Office of the Organization

The office of this organization shall be at the Lancaster Mennonite High School, 2176 Lincoln Highway East, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

ARTICLE III

Purpose

SEC. 1. Since God's solemn command imposes a sacred duty upon parents to teach their children (Deut. 6:5-7; Eph. 6:4; II Tim. 3:15), the organization shall assist the parents and the church in the task of educating their young people and to such end shall establish high schools and such other schools as the organization may from time to time determine.

SEC. 2. It shall be the purpose of these schools:

a. To teach young people the Word of God and its application to daily life and acquaint them with the teachings of the Mennonite Church.

b. To give the Bible its proper place in each course of study and to encourage students to make it their constant companion and rule of life.

c. To provide educational opportunities under Christian influence and environment for all who desire such education regardless of race, color, or creed.

d. To foster a lasting interest in and love for the church and to prepare young people for future usefulness.

e. To guide the youth in developing Christian character and wholesome social relationships and to assist them to become law-abiding and useful citizens.

ARTICLE IV

Organization

SEC. 1. There shall be a Board of Trustees consisting of one member from each bishop district in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference that chooses to be involved in the governance of the schools. The members of the Board of Trustees shall be elected by the ministry of the district each represents. The term of office shall be three years with approximately one-third of the members elected each year according to a schedule adopted by the Board of Bishops. In addition, the Board of Trustees shall elect an alumnus of Lancaster Mennonite High School for a three-year term from nominees supplied by the Alumni Association. The Board of Trustees may also elect up to two persons with special competencies to three-year terms of membership on the Board. The Board shall elect an Executive Committee to act for it between regular Board meetings and within established policies of the Board. The terms of all Board members shall begin with the first Board meeting of the fiscal year.

00203

SEC. 2. The Board of Trustees shall be directly and fully responsible to the Lancaster Conference of the Mennonite Church.

SEC. 3. A Religious Welfare Committee shall be appointed by the Board of Bishops of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference to act for and in behalf of the Board of Bishops in advising the Board of Trustees and school administration. It shall be responsible to assist in developing a strong religious spirit in the schools, in reviewing applications for all prospective school personnel, and in investigating with the superintendent any alleged causes for dismissal of teachers that are based on religious grounds.

SEC. 4. The Board of Trustees may act to permit other Conferences to elect additional members to the Board of Trustees with the approval and recommendation of the Religious Welfare Committee.

SEC. 5. The Board of Trustees shall be the responsible agency of the Conference for the conducting of a high school to be known as the Lancaster Mennonite High School, and such other schools as the organization may from time to time determine.

SEC. 6. The Board of Trustees shall appoint a committee of three to act as an agency for consultative and economic relations with elementary schools not affiliated administratively with the organization

SEC. 7. In addition, the Board of Trustees shall appoint such standing committees as are deemed necessary. A Board member shall be chairman of each such committee and shall report the work of his committee regularly to the Board.

ARTICLE V

Officers

SEC. 1. The officers of the Board shall consist of a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Chairman to call and preside at all meetings of the Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee and to perform such other duties as pertain to his office including annual reporting to Conference and serving ex-officio on all Board Committees.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the Vice-chairman to serve in the absence of the Chairman or at his direction.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep a full and complete record of all meetings of the Board, to serve as correspondent and to be custodian of all records, papers, etc., of the Board, and to have charge of the Corporate seal. The Board may appoint a clerk to record the minutes of the Board meetings.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to maintain accurate records of all the financial activity of the Board, to serve as chairman of the Finance Committee, and to be responsible for all authorized disbursements. He shall give a properly audited report of the financial work of the Board annually and at such other times as the Board may desire.

SEC. 6. The Board shall elect an Executive Committee consisting of the officers and three additional Board members who shall serve for a term of one year. The officers and additional members shall be elected at the first meeting of the Board during each fiscal year.

ARTICLE VI

Meetings

SEC. 1. There shall be regular meetings of the Board of Trustees one of which shall be held the first month of the fiscal year. Special meetings may be called at any time by the Chairman and Secretary.

SEC. 2. Two thirds of the members of the Board shall constitute a quorum to do business.

SEC. 3. There shall be monthly meetings of the Executive Committee. Special meetings may be called at any time by the Chairman and Secretary.

ARTICLE VII

Qualifications

SEC. 1. Board members, administrators, and teachers shall be members in good standing in the Mennonite Church in their local congregations, who have exemplified a life of faith and loyalty to the Word of God, in harmony with the Statement of Christian Doctrine and Rules and Discipline of the Lancaster Conference of the Mennonite Church. They shall also have a strong interest in the spiritual life and Christian education of the children and youth of the church and be competent for their respective tasks. Age 65 shall be considered age of retirement for Board members and administrators.

00204

By action of the Board and approval of the Religious Welfare Committee, teachers may be employed who are not members of the Mennonite church if they meet the other qualifications above.

ARTICLE VIII

Supervision of Schools

SEC. 1. It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to set policies for the schools for which it is responsible in accordance with the wishes and under the authority of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference

SEC. 2. The officers of the schools shall consist of a Superintendent who shall be administratively responsible for the total operation and coordination of all the schools operated by the Board of Trustees. He shall recommend applicants to the Board of Trustees to fill personnel positions in the schools. He shall also serve as adviser to non-affiliated elementary schools desiring such service. A Business Manager shall be responsible to him for the financial management of the schools, serving as purchasing agent and controller of funds. Each school shall have a principal to oversee the work plus such assistant principals and other officers as are deemed necessary by the Board of Trustees. All officers shall be elected by the Board of Trustees, the Superintendent for a four-year term and others for two-year terms. The Bishop Board shall approve the appointment of the Superintendent.

SEC. 3. The Superintendent shall be responsible for an annual report to the Board of Trustees and shall also arrange for regular reporting to the constituency.

SEC. 4. The Principals and Assistant Principals shall be responsible for such duties as the Superintendent and the Board of Trustees agree shall be delegated to them by the Superintendent.

SEC. 5. In the larger schools, a Principal's Coordinating Committee consisting of the officers of the school and instructional leaders from the various subject or grade level areas shall be chosen annually by the principal in consultation with the Superintendent. This Coordinating Committee shall meet under the leadership of the principal and at his call throughout the school year for counsel and coordination of program within the set policies for the school.

ARTICLE IX

Standards for all Schools

SEC. 1. All schools shall abide by the standards of the State so far as such requirements do not conflict with the teachings of the Word of God.

SEC. 2. All instruction shall be in harmony with the Word of God, the Statement of Christian Doctrine and Rules and Discipline of the Lancaster Conference of the Mennonite Church.

SEC. 3. Text and resource books shall be chosen carefully to conform so far as possible to Biblical truth. In all cases where textbooks and courses of study differ from the Bible, the Bible shall be the final authority.

SEC. 4. The use of radios, record players, musical instruments, audio and visual aids shall be determined by the Administration and approved by the Board of Trustees and the Religious Welfare Committee.

SEC. 5. The physical education program shall emphasize a proper understanding and development of the body. Recreation and athletic activities shall be directed by the Administration and approved by the Board of Trustees and the Religious Welfare Committee.

SEC. 6. There shall be a concerted effort in all phases of school work to foster a missionary spirit and a sense of world needs among students.

SEC. 7. All forms of malicious and unbecoming conduct and profane language among students shall not be tolerated.

SEC. 8. Any person introducing or handling obscene literature, etc., is subject to suspension from the school.

SEC. 9. Possession, distribution and use of tobacco, harmful drugs, and intoxicating drinks are prohibited.

ARTICLE X

Amendments

SEC. 1. This constitution may be revised or amended at a regular meeting of the Board of Trustees by proper action. All proposed changes shall be in the hands of Board members at least two weeks prior to the date for such consideration.

Such revision or amendments shall be subject to the approval of the Lancaster Conference of the Mennonite Church.

00205

APPENDIX H

STATEMENT OF PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION
LANCASTER MENNONITE HIGH SCHOOL
1970

Introduction

Basic to a statement of philosophy of education is an understanding of our belief and concept of creation and man's relation to the Creator and his fellowman.

The educational philosophy of Lancaster Mennonite High School is based on an understanding of God's will, revealed in the divine, authoritative, inspired Word which becomes the ultimate guide and highest authority for the Christian.

We understand from the Word of God that man was created in God's image, but because of sin, his nature was defiled and his relationship to God was broken. For man to realize his intended purpose and fulfillment, he will need to experience the regeneration which comes by accepting God's plan of salvation, experiencing forgiveness of sin and victory over sin, and living purposefully for the glory of God.

The educational process is concerned with the development of the individual toward the highest achievement of Christian character and maturity. It is concerned with helping each person understand himself and acquire the knowledge he needs to make wise choices as an individual with a free will.

Discipleship

Each person is called to a life of obedience to Christ. This call takes on reality as a student is confronted with the claims of Christ in a program of teaching based on the Word of God.

The claim of Christian discipleship in personal life and personal living is an urgent concern of a Christian school. The school is a part of the total program of Christian nurture and education which is the right of every person. It shares with the home and the church the responsibility for the total development of personality.

The school provides an opportunity for development of loyalty to the Anabaptist heritage, with respect for the Mennonite Church and its ideals. Here, concerns for discipleship, service, and witness are promoted as students are challenged to Christian commitment.

The school provides a context for achieving understanding of Christian stewardship. Every person with his gifts, skill, intellect and personality is encouraged to that kind of development which will enable him to achieve the fullest use of his resources.

Relation to Church

The school relates to the church with understanding and sensitivity, seeking to respect varying traditions and convictions among the constituency and to instill in each student the ability to make responsible choices and achieve voluntary convictions which will provide a foundation for meaningful relationship to the church and community. The school is one of God's gifts to the church.

Social Relationship

The school provides a social community in which wholesome relationships are cultivated in the context of appropriate Christian activities and conduct. By means of carefully guided activities, the individual is enabled to grow into a truly Christian personality.

Relation to the World

The school provides a nurture community where the Word of God is studied, taught, explored, and lived through devotional worship, classroom discussions, and prayer experiences. Here the development of Christian character is enhanced in the daily interaction within the school community.

The school becomes a focal point of learning and acquaintanceship with the non-Christian community. Understanding of the world and a commitment to service in the world must be realized as students are directed in the choice of life's vocation and in their preparation for meaningful contributions to society.

Academic Purposes

The school is concerned with development of the whole person with particular emphasis on the mental and intellectual talents. Academic growth which leads to excellence applies to teacher and student. The mutual quest for truth is best served where intellectual curiosity and

academic freedom can interact. The administration and faculty accept responsibility to maintain standards of excellence in instruction. They also recognize the need to provide for individual differences among students. The school attempts to be contemporary by continual curriculum revision and in its use of educationally sound curriculum materials, methods and equipment.

Conclusion

While being a community of learning, the school also seeks to be a Christian community where interaction between faculty and students gives practical experience in interpersonal relationships. The school recognizes the need for cooperation and for responsible administration of authority.

We believe that the ideals of this Philosophy of Education are best attained where there is no discrimination because of social barriers such as economic status, race, and nationality.

00208

APPENDIX I

STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN FAITH AND DOCTRINE
(On Application for Professional Position)

1. Write a spiritual autobiography and attach to this form. Your autobiography should include your personal relationship to Christ, your present relationship to the church, and your philosophy of Christian life and commitment.

2. State your present thinking on the following items (write your answers and attach them to this form according to the outline):

   A. State your views on the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. How does God reveal Himself to man?

   B. State what you believe about the person and work of Christ including the virgin birth, His deity, the bodily resurrection, and second coming.

   C. State your understanding of the person of the Holy Spirit and describe His work in the life of an individual.

   D. What is your belief about the Genesis account of the creation? The fall of man and its results?

   E. The Christian life:

      1. How does a person become a Christian?
      2. What is the basis for Christian assurance?
      3. What is your understanding of Christian ordinances?
      4. Describe your understanding of Christian discipleship including stewardship, non-resistance, nonconformity, and interpersonal relationships.
      5. How do you interpret I Corinthians 11:1-16?
      6. How do you feel about social drinking, dancing, movie going, gambling?

   F. What do you feel is the nature, mission, and authority of the church?

3. Are you willing to be guided by the sponsoring board of trustees, the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, and the administration of the school? Are you open to consider changes in life and conduct that may be requested by these groups?

4. Comments

00209

APPENDIX J

REPORT ON FAMILY INTERVIEW

Lancaster Mennonite High School

Admissions Committee

Family _____ Date of Interview _____

Address _____

Family Members Present: Father ___ Mother ___

Guardian _____

Child(ren) _____

Interviewers: _____

1. TESTIMONY OF SALVATION: Do the parents and the child(ren) claim salvation through Christ?
   Yes__ No__ Comment:

2. CHRISTIAN GROWTH: Do the parents and the child(ren) seem to be alive and growing Christians?
   Yes__ No__ Comment:

3. CHURCH RELATIONSHIP: Do the parents and the child(ren) seem to be active members of an evangelical church with positive attitudes toward the church? Yes__ No__ Name of Church:
   Comment:

4. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS: Does there seem to be an open and respectful family relationship between the parents and the child(ren)?
   Yes__ No__ Comment:

5. ATTITUDE TOWARD LMH: Are the parents and child(ren) in agreement with the goals, standards, and philosophy of LMH? Yes__ No__ Comment:

6. POSSIBLE PROBLEM AREAS: Has the student had any apparent problems in attitudes, behavior, scholarship, or spiritual, physical or emotional development?

00210

7. FINANCES: Are there any indications of problems in meeting financial obligations to the school? in free-will gifts?
Yes__ No__ Comment:

8. TRANSPORTATION: Does the family indicate any need for help in arranging transportation?
Yes__ No__ Comment:

9. UNANSWERED QUESTIONS: Are there any questions that the family asked that need further clarification? Any additional materials needed?

10. COURSE ELECTIONS: Did the student complete a course election sheet?
Yes__ No__

11. REASON FOR APPLICATION: What do you think is the main reason for the application?

12. RECOMMENDATION: Should this family and the child(ren) be accepted at LMH?
Yes__ No__ Comment:

Signature of Interviewer _____

00211

APPENDIX K

JANITOR WORKS BEHIND SCENES*

Screwdriver in pocket and key ring at his side, Mr. Miller turns up in many places around campus. He looks like an ordinary man dressed for work but he's more than that. He is the person who spends a ten-hour day behind the scenes of LMH keeping everything smooth and operating.

He took this job because he enjoys people and he wanted a job that involved church work and service for others. "In a sense I have more freedom than anyone else on campus," he said with a smile. He also added his work gives him a sense of accomplishment.

When asked what he dislikes most, Miller replied, "The writing on the walls. It's not that I care about cleaning it off. They're hurting themselves and it's disrespectful."

Originally from Hartville, Ohio, Mr. Miller, his wife and three children moved East in July and presently reside along the Strasburg Pike about a mile and a half from school. He says his location is convenient during emergencies.

The job was available when he arrived and he began under the direction of last year's head maintenance man Jerry Hollinger. Mr. Hollinger left in September to continue his schooling.

Miller's activities vary a great deal--locking and unlocking the buildings, general repair work, cleaning, trimming and running errands.

He plans to work here again next year, but would like to continue his education later. He did not graduate from high school, but had a year of business school in training as an IBM operator. He worked as a bricklayer before coming to LMH.

"I was asked by a student to give a report concerning LMH. May I write a few lines regarding my observations at LMH concerning the student body. I see the student body basically divided into three classes: First are those who see LMH as a tremendous opportunity for learning and Christian development. They have high ideals

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*Millstream article, February 1974.

with a realistic outlook on life. Their spirit of Christian love and gratitude contributes to life's greatest values. Second is the largest group that is attending high school here at LMH. They are not always sure why they are here. Perhaps psychologically they feel they could enjoy another school just as well.

"May I insert here that they are contributing much to the cause of this school by their cooperation and by willingly accepting the work assignments given them, whether given to them in the classroom or in extra-curricular activities. I am very confident that they, as the first class, have been taught and have learned to respect those who are in authority over them, whether it be their parents, the faculty at LMH, the church, or the governing authorities. They, in return, are respected and appreciated and are given great opportunities for advancement and success in any field of service the future holds for them.

"Please do not feel slighted if you find yourself within the framework of this second class. After all, some have limited opportunities, fewer talents, different backgrounds, etc. I, for example, come from a family of twelve children and was very limited in time given to school activities during my high school days. Make the best use of your opportunities today. Tomorrow you may not have them or they may be greater. Take heart, sooner or later, you will be grateful for the opportunity of attending a Christian-oriented high school.

"May I say a few words regarding the staff at LMH before I describe the third class. I have greatly appreciated all of the faculty here at LMH. They are wonderful to work with and they have a united concern for your education spiritually as well as academically. They are attempting to teach and love you with an understanding heart. In spite of the good qualities of leadership there are always flaws that show through. One in particular that I have noted is the lack of a severe-enough discipline particularly pertaining to the fellows or must I call them 'boys' of the student body.

"The basic difference between the first two classes and the third is described in Scripture as light and darkness completely being opposites.

"Jude describes them well in his Epistle as filthy dreamers defiling the flesh, despising dominion, and speaking evil of the authority. What they know naturally

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as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves, They are spots in your love feasts, feeding themselves without fear, clouds without water, carried about by winds, murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts and their mouth speaketh great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration because of advantage.

"Oh! You say, not our good Mennonite boys at LMH. Yes! You see, I hear their filthy words when they are in the lavs. I wash off the obscene pictures and words they scribble on the walls, I see the disrespect they demonstrate and the lies they say to the teacher. I repair their deliberate acts of destruction to school property, not to mention the obscene literature that floats around campus.

"Oh! But it's all in fun. They will grow up some day. What is sad about it all is that they are living in a Christian atmosphere, but they are blind to the truth. Blind to the fact that God keeps the records and that one day they will stand before God with their total life laid out before them, but will be speechless knowing the meaning of it all. 'Depart from me. I never knew you.'

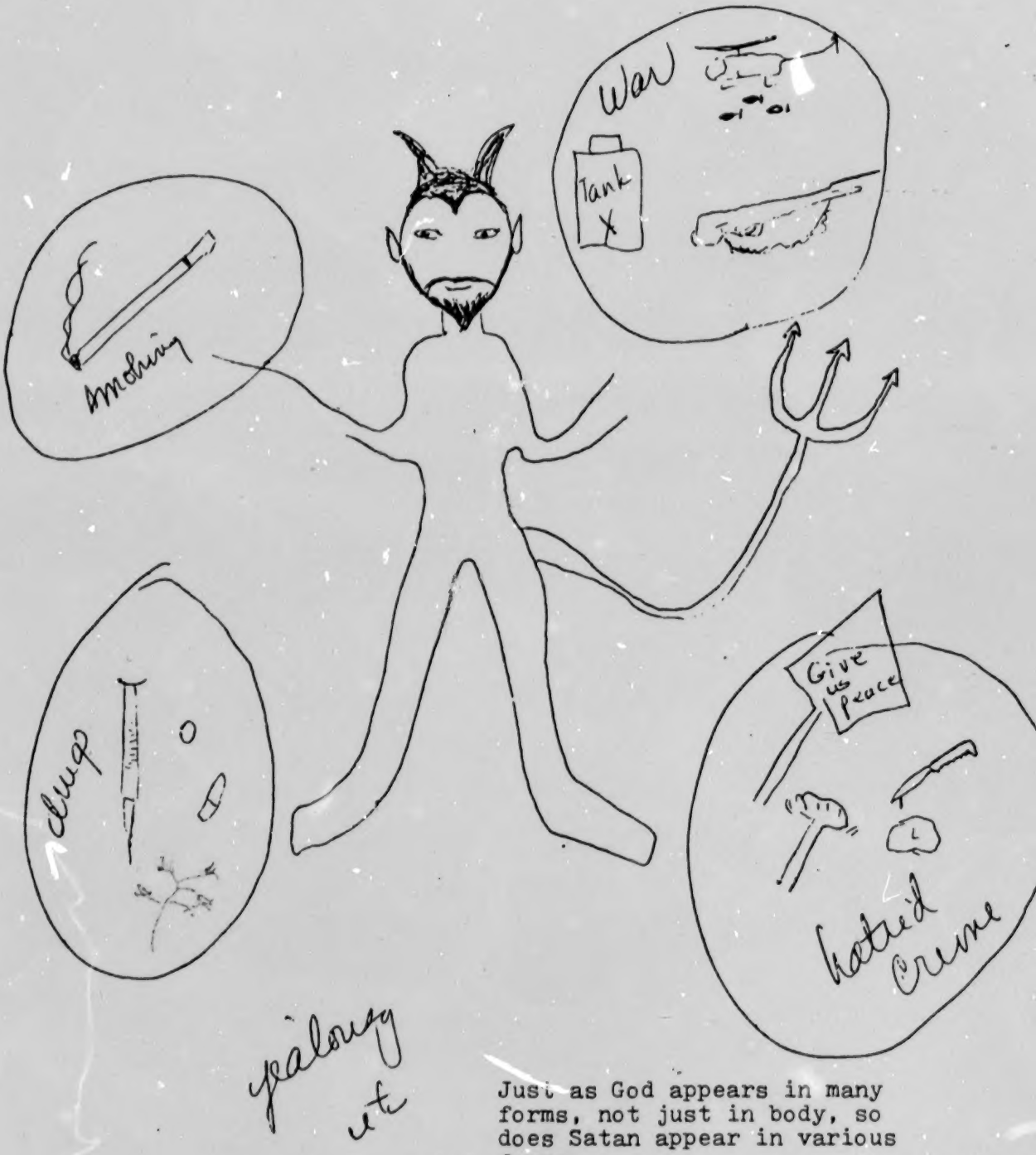
"Students, be assured of this, the most horrible thing about Hell is not the everlasting fire, or the continual falling into that bottomless pit, or the torments of your enemies, but it will be the memories of the lost opportunities of salvation. If you are reading this and you know you are in this group, then it is not too late for you. Do open your life to God. Remember this, we as a staff at LMH love you because God loves you and we long to be of help to you.

"I write this article because as a Christian I must speak out against the evils within our school framework. I feel for the most part you as parents do not know what is happening and the majority of the student body is not aware, or at least do not know what they can do because most of what I said is done behind the scene.

"I normally have an optimistic perspective on situations, but I feel I must be realistic and honest for the sake of justice to all concerned. It reminds me again to say with the Psalmist, 'Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me and know my thoughts: see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.' Psalm 139:23,24. Yours in Christ's service, Bob Miller."

APPENDIX L STUDENT DRAWINGS OF THE DEVIL

He is cunning, catches you when you have your back turned; comes and taps on your shoulder and whispers in your ear, "No one'll know and so it doesn't really matter." He sits on your shoulder and nags away at you.



Just as God appears in many forms, not just in body, so does Satan appear in various forms.

He starts inside and eats through till nothing's left.

He talks smoothly, has bright eyes, and creeps over you, and caresses your emotions. He's very persuasive, and uses words well--to trick people.

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APPENDIX L (Continued)

STUDENT DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DEVIL

Each of the following paragraphs was written by a different student in a course titled "Literature of Christian Faith."

I don't think he is in any visible or tangible form; but a spirit form. Since I never saw a spirit, I substitute it for something and that is a human form, hairy, two horns on his animal-like head and a dung fork in his hand. He has a cow-like tail and hoofs and is a dull red in color. I know that this is only fantasy, but like I said, it's a tangible substitute for something intangible.

Usually when I think of the devil, I immediately think of God. I don't like to compare the devil with God but right away I would say the devil has the form of a man but is invisible. Kind of the same as God you know. And then it seems to me that he is pretty stable say in hell because we think of God as being quite stable in heaven with his holy spirit doing the actual work. And then with the devil pretty stable we'll say it is his unholy angels or little devils who do the actual work.

I used to have the idea that the devil was an ugly, red guy with two horns growing out of his head. I think this is what he wants to be thought of because it's easier to deceive people, then they don't recognize him when he comes slyly around. He comes as an angel of light or a wolf in sheeps clothing. He's probably tall, dark, and kind of handsome. I think of him as wearing expensive, flashy clothes. He would have eyes that could look right through you and eerie.

I think that there is one main devil, Satan, but that he has many helpers, where they've come from I'm not really sure--perhaps deceased Satan worshippers. I also always connect horns with Satan, not necessarily a tail but some sort of dagger or fork (maybe this idea comes from "fiery darts of the evil one"). I think Satan and his angels impersonate themselves in people and also animals like Satan did in the snake in the Garden of Eden.

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I don't think the devil has physical features that are different than us. I think he looks somewhat like us but he acts so much different. He might have a piercing look in his eyes.

The devil is in the image of God because he was at one time an angel in heaven. He is invisible to man like God is and he is also omnipresent (can be everywhere at once). He can live inside each one of us just like God can. He is in subjection to God--he never has any power over God, but he has power over man. He is capable of changing people just like God is.

The devil is a spirit like God. He goes around speaking in the still small voice telling us how to make decisions, how to move. He is very wicked and fierce. Very ugly and scary. He is someone you want to stay as far away as possible because he get you into trouble without you knowing it--deceitful. No love all hate.

A black half beast, half human, with horns on his head, a tail, arrows or sharp things sticking out all over his body. An ugly sneer always on his face jagged teeth with mouth bright red. Very quick, sly and an ugly laugh. Carries a shield sometimes, sometimes a bow with arrows. Sometimes I picture him as a black snake, that just slides quickly and quietly through the grass.

I think the devil is a spirit just like God is. But there's a big difference. The devil is sly and God is love and gives peace. I'll admit when somebody says the word devil, I picture a common picture--evil and ugly looking, red and black, and with tail and horns, even a fork. But I keep in mind that the devil is sly and tricky and gives an eerie sort of feeling at times. He'll do anything to get you down.

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APPENDIX L (Continued)

STUDENT DESCRIPTIONS OF HOW THE DEVIL WORKS

Each of the following paragraphs was written by a different student in a course titled "Literature of Christian Faith."

Satan works in extremely sly ways; never out in the open. He comes in like a cloud settling down and smothering the life out of you. You have to struggle to get away.

He operates very slyly by trying to trick people to do things without their awareness of it, working through their mind.

It is like he is trying to persuade me to believe something I don't want to and this brings frustrations and anxiety within me.

The devil works on us by setting the circumstances of our lives. He does as much about this as God allows. God will not let him force anything on us and so he sets the circumstances so as to give us as many choices as possible to give us a better chance to fail.

He mostly operates in our mind giving us sly suggestions to do evil. Sometimes when we really want to do something right it does seem there's a hand pulling us back.

Satan bugs me in my mind. I feel he is a sort of spirit who comes behind me and creeps into my mind and tampers with my thoughts. It is a very subtle thing really.

When the devil is around me it seems like I feel trapped and I can't get away from him. I don't realize he is trapping me until after something is done that shouldn't have been done.

The devil comes to me in quiet, subtle ways. He creeps upon me like a snake, coming at me from all sides trying to pull me away from God. He tries to make evil things look very beautiful to me. I can always feel two forces--God and the devil.

The devil comes to me very nicely and gives me a beautiful feeling, happy, but still conscience is there but you try to reason. He starts pulling you in with his bait and begins tying and wrapping his ideas around me. He begins wrapping tighter and tighter.

I look at it as planting and eating. He plants doubt, and then eats at my mind.

He tries to hit your weak spots and get control in areas of little things and then he keeps going deeper and hitting hard. I think he can get you down physically at times. Some people really get exhausted after a struggle with the devil.

I think he tries to get you to feel as comfortable as possible and being satisfied where you are. He puts doubts in the minds of Christians and keeps Christians from telling others of Christ. Comes to you real nice but yet he just wants you for himself. Shows you all these good things that he can give you that will make you happy.

APPENDIX M

STUDENT PAPER*: JOJO

Rough Weather

The T.V. blared out violence, and a small voice inside of Jojo seemed to be saying, "Go to New York City and give them this message from God. Tell them that their evil ways will destroy them."

Jojo just pushed the thought to the back of his mind, thinking, "God doesn't want me; I can't possibly go now!"

Two days later, Jojo was flying in a pipercub with two other men headed for Iowa. On their way, God created such turbulent weather they feared they would crash, so all three prepared to parachute down. Jojo jumped first, and immediately the plane came under control; so the others didn't jump, but returned later to rescue him. They found him caught in a tree with a fractured leg.

Confession

As Jojo lay in the hospital bed, he prayed, "Oh God, I saw the earth rushing toward me, and I was sure death was near. But instead I got stuck in a tree. Lord, even a fractured leg is better than death! You saved me as only you can. I will always praise you! Look, to show you I really mean business, I'm gonna go to New York City and do as you wish." Jojo's leg healed.

"God Will Destroy"

A week later Jojo moved into a shabby rat nest in the South Bronx. He shared it with Russ, who turned out to be a homo. Jojo explained his commission to Russ, and told him his sin would lead to destruction of his soul. Russ understood and shared it with his friends, who also saw the "true Way." Word spread over the city about Jesus, and it was declared Church Week. Services were held all week in the church.

God saw all that happened and abandoned his plans for destruction.

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*Written for Bible class by a female student.

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That Hot Sun

Jojo got very angry at this change of plan and went to the east side of the city to sulk. He cried to God, "I knew you wouldn't carry out your plans, that is why I didn't want to go in the first place. It would be best if I died." God replied, "Is it right to be angry?"

The sun beat down on Jojo till the water ran off him. God brought relief in a city bus that broke down in front of him. The next day, the bus was fixed and again the sun beat down. The heat caused extra smog, until Jojo again cried for death to come.

God asked him, "Is it right to be angry?" Jojo answered, "Yes, enough to wish death."

God said, "If you feel sorry for the bus you didn't even put there, why shouldn't I feel sorry for New York City in her darkness?"

The End

Five Morals:

a) You can't hide from God.
b) God has a purpose for everything.
c) Sin is foolish.
d) God controls nature.
e) Complaining doesn't help.

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APPENDIX N

SENIOR CLASS SONGS

1948 - "Through Him We Conquer"

Marching through a world of sin;
Christ our Leader true, and guide;
Fighting on, the right to win,
We may in our Lord confide.
Though proud Satan press us sore,
We will trust in God alway,
Though the billows round us roar,
Still we can rejoice to say.

If our God be on our side,
Who can stand against His life?
All our hopes in Him reside,
In each dark and doubtful hour.
If our trust in Him is staid
He will ne'er forsake His own;
We will never be afraid;
God is always on the throne.

If the way is rough and steep,
Though sin's mists our eyes may dim,
Still God's loving hand will keep
Those who humbly trust in Him.
Let us follow in God's way,
Let us then march bravely on,
Let us battle day by day,
Til the glorious crown be won!

Through Him we conquer!
Our watchword will be
"Through Him we conquer!"
'Til Jesus we see.
"Through Him we conquer!"
Our voices shall ring,
When safe in glory,
His praises we'll sing.

1971 - "We Live Loving"

I walked all alone
in a shoving crowd,
looking for someone
who cared; preoccupied people just
rushed all around,
engulfed in their
meaningless stares.
Is there no one who's
willing to love me,
to give me acceptance
and worth, The
longing I have inside me, begs release
from this desolate
earth.

I'm supposed to be
here for a reason,
but living means
nothing to me.
Religion is empty and
barely alive, choked
in wealth and hypocrisy; O God, you
love and unbind us,
to reach out and lift
the depressed, At
peace with ourselves
and our Father above,
To this raging world
we'll bring rest.
Yes, we are all
willing to love you,
your joys and sorrows to share; As
in springtime the
world blooms anew,
So there's hope when
as brothers we care.

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APPENDIX O

CHAPEL TALK*: "IT JUST HAPPENED"

It just happened--that's what some of the scientists and brilliant scholars tell us. The earth and man--they just happened to be. And it all began with nothing. And I guess "nothing" must have become rebellious or maybe "nothing" just wanted to become different and decided to be "something." So little "something" decided, "Now here I am all by myself," and "something" doesn't have any friends, so "something" wishes he would have some friends. So one time there was a thunderstorm and a bolt of lightning came and struck "something." And "something" was split into many little "somethings." And these little "somethings" finally collected together and formed little one-celled animals, and these little one-celled animals collected and developed and grew larger and finally they came to the stage where they became huge monsters, commonly known as dinosaurs. Now it was rough in those dinosaur times--it was a dino-eat-dino time, and you just survived if you could. Many of these animals did survive and it was chaos in the world. Then there was a new creature. It is inevitable that a new creature would come and save the world and bring peace and harmony, and this creature is a brilliant, reasonable creature commonly known as man. The "golden age of reason" had just begun.

This is kind of what the evolutionists believe--at least what they must believe. They must believe something similar to this; that is, there was nothing and it somehow must have become something and something became a creature, finally a dinosaur and, I guess, finally, man.

I refuse to believe this, and I feel that the real debate is not whether or how man developed but who developed man. And it's between if you believe that God created it or if it just happened. And as being Christians we believe in the Bible, and as we believe the Bible we must face the fact in John 1 that before anything else existed there was Christ. He has always been alive and is himself God. He created everything there is; nothing exists that he didn't make. This goes to show that God always existed and we know God and we know that Christ always existed, and the amazing part about it is that the Trinity was all involved in the creation.

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*Presented in chapel by student Marlin Groff, May 9, 1973

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In I Corinthians 8:6 it shows how the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ were involved: "For we know that there is only God, the Father, who created all things and made us to be his own and one Lord Jesus Christ, who made everything and gives us life." God not only created the world, but he created man and he gave man the choice to follow him, and man has the choice but God's purpose and intention for man was that he would glorify God. Man sometimes is accomplishing God's goal; other times he isn't. So God the Father sent his son on the earth to save man from his sins and to become God's children. Also we find how the Holy Spirit was involved in creation. In Genesis 1:1-3, we read, "When God began creating the heavens and the earth it was at first a shapeless, chaotic mass, with the spirit of God hurdling over the dark vapors; and God said, 'Let there be light' and the light appeared." And you know the rest of how God created the world and he finally created man.

Now to me, I believe in God creating. I find it very likely and realistic. I believe that God is real and that God is real in my life. And I think when it really comes down to it, in evolution it depends on whether we are supernaturalists or naturalists. I am a supernaturalist and I hope you are a supernaturalist--believing in a supreme being and that supreme being, being God. And the naturalist believes that things just naturally happened, and he doesn't believe in a God, and well for the creation, it just happened.

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APPENDIX P

CHAPEL TALK*: WHAT IS LIFE

What is life? What are our attitudes toward life? How did life start? Where did it begin? How did it begin? These are some questions I'd like to develop in the next few minutes.

Did mankind and the rest of the world just luckily evolve? Did a speck of nothing just happen to turn into a speck of something, and that something then just happen to turn into a living plant or animal. I think most of us agree that the creation of life did not just happen by accident. No. We firmly believe that God created the life. But then you might ask, what will the knowledge of my beginnings, of mankind's or even life's earliest beginnings, what will all that knowledge do for me in my daily living? You know, who cares, how can my beliefs in the beginnings of life ever affect or influence anything in my life today, now, on May 3, Friday morning, 1974?

Well, I believe that the basic ideas or attitudes you hold, whether they're concerning the creation or something else, each one of those basic beliefs you hold to influences every part of your life. These basic beliefs determine the very quality with which you live and the very attitudes by which you live. One of these basic ideas or beliefs that is held by many people today involves a happy-go-lucky attitude in which a person seems to drift in a perpetual experience of taking what comes his way and in general taking life as it comes and goes. These people have one major philosophy in life and that is this: if you're lucky you'll get this, if you're lucky you might get to be this, or if you're unlucky you might not get this, and if you're unlucky you might not get to be this. That's the type of mentality the world lives with today--happy-go-lucky, take life as it comes and goes, anything that happens that is good and pleasant and enjoyable; they'll say, "Oh, how lucky!" And when something happens that is bad, unpleasant, and unenjoyable, then they'll say, "Oh, how unlucky!" Luckiness and unluckiness, good luck and bad luck, fortune and misfortune, whatever will be will be. All these attitudes stem in part from the same happy-go-lucky

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*Presented in chapel May 3, 1974 by Phil Shenk, a junior student who was a prospective candidate for Student Council President.

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attitudes, which I've mentioned before that many people hold to involving the origins of life or creation. These attitudes are godless attitudes.

If we are willing to take life seriously we won't be so wishy-washy as to believe things merely haphazardly happened, that life is just one big game of chance. If it be God's will or if the Lord tarries, or if God wills --all these are old but much used sayings, but somehow we've stopped using them today. Why? Have we lost the real meaning of living? Have we succumbed to the whatever will be will be attitude of the world? I believe we cannot and should not ever believe that things just happened to occur. That they just by chance occurred, and that whatever will be will be. No, if we have any real reason for living, we're going to believe that the past, the present was, is, and will be God's plans in His hands. God created man. God also created the world, and after he was finished he didn't just decide to walk off and leave this little planet of his spinning along in its merry little way through the solar system. And he didn't leave his experiment of life alone to develop on its own. No, he stuck by that creation of his, and he guided in their lives, and just as he was with the Old Testament Israelites in the deserts and in many other areas, so he is guiding and directing our lives today.

Things don't just happen. They are supposed to happen. God is behind and within every big and small experience each one of us ever had or will ever have. God places us in certain situations for a reason and purpose. He places us in certain situations like elections. Dan and I understand this; God has a purpose in bringing us together in this election, and one of the more obvious purposes is our friendship. I think that Dan will agree with me that this whole experience has strengthened our friendship like nothing else could have. We believe that each part of our lives and yours is mapped out by God.

So let this be a challenge to you--forget about luck and good fortune, and mature in God's will, accepting each experience you're placed in as the experience God wants you to be in for a special and divine reason.

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APPENDIX Q

SERMON: ON CREATION OF LANCASTER MENNONITE HIGH SCHOOL*

It's not at all unusual that one sometimes reads in a newspaper or a periodical of some sort that we ought to have an updating of our Lord. By that they're saying that we ought not to picture Christ in a robe; we ought not to see Jesus in the kind of haircut or beard or mustache or whatever, that is generally pictured with him on pictures, but that rather we ought to put on our Lord a lapel coat, a long tie, long pants, cut his hair, and do a number of things like this in order to give him a more modern look.

I'm not sure how that strikes you, but I'm sure that a lot of people think it's quite relevant that this ought to be done. There are a lot of people who think that we could use an updating of scripture also, because the scripture was written many, many years ago and we're not quite certain that we like what was written and maybe if we could rewrite it, it might speak a little bit more to our times and give us a bit more license to do things that we might like to do. Mr. Zook, a few weeks ago, gave a very interesting chapel message at which time he updated the scripture--not really updated--but he paraphrased it in a way that we began to see how the scripture relates to the whole problem of ecology and environment. If you would allow me to do the same today, I'd like to read my meditation and I'd like to do a little bit of updating as I think it might apply to Lancaster Mennonite High School. I'll begin with the creation and carry it up through a number of portions of scripture trying to make application as I think it might happen now.

One thing that I'm impressed with in the scriptures again and again is the comparative way in which God has approached man. He has told us in so many ways that there are choices to make. For instance, we have light and darkness; we have righteousness and unrighteousness; we have good and evil; we have wise and foolish; and you could go on and make a list as extensive as you might like; and all of these show to us that there is very little middle ground, if any, but that there is a distinct choice that has to be made by students, by faculty, by administration--choices that help us to know which direction we're really going. Let me today attempt in a small way to try and illustrate this through scripture:

In the beginning God created Lancaster Mennonite High School. And the school was without form and void, and the spirit of God moved among the hearts of men and said, "Let there be a Christian high school." The men responded to God. They built the school, and God said it was good. And God

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*Presented by Glenn Sell (teacher) to student chapel, May 14, 1973.

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said, "Let there be a faculty in the midst of the school and let them instruct by day and prepare by night." And it was so and God said it was good. And God said, "Let there be an administrative staff to guide the affairs of the school." And an administrative staff was found and God said it was good. And God said, "Let there be discipline in the school to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light of Christ from the darkness of sin, and God said it was good. And God said, "Let the families among the churches send forth students abundantly," and they came, everyone a living creature that moveth. And God said, "Let us make students who will reflect my image and show forth my glory." So God by His spirit and the staff created students in his likeness, both male and female. And God blessed them and said unto them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and propagate my word--carry it to the four corners of the earth." And they did and God said, "It is very good."

Now Satan was more subtle than any student God had created and he said to some of the students, "Did God institute this school?" And the students answered, "Yea, hath God instituted this school and he blessed it to our good." And Satan said, "Man hath made this school--not God. You may do with it what you will." So when the students saw that the school, that it was good, a place where one might do as he pleaseth, God was forgotten and sin entered in its many forms. Now Abel was a student extremely able. He said, "We are able to have a Christ centered school; we are able to resist the devil and he will flee from us. We are able to propagate the word to the four corners of the earth. We are able to build biblical conviction and character in the lives of faculty and students. We are able to integrate Bible in the school curriculum. We are able to exemplify Christian principles in drama, in sports, in chicken barbeques, and in talent nights. We are able to build trust and confidence between faculty, students, and administration. To prove his ableness, Abel committed his life daily to Christ and offered the sacrifice of praise for himself, the staff, and the school.

His brother Cain also brought an offering. His offering was that of self-assertion. When he saw that Abel's offering was accepted and his was not, he became very angry. Everything that Abel did he caned. Cain was wroth with Abel his brother and in anger attempted slaying him. And it came to pass after this conflict that wickedness began to abound more and more on the grounds, in the grounds, and in the school. And God saw that the wickedness of students was very great. There was destruction of school property: there was carving on desk tops, flooding of lavatories; showing disrespect for those in authority, smoking, swearing, lying, cheating, filthy communication, self-abuse, as well as other sins too numerous to mention--a general catch-me-if-you-can attitude prevailed.

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It repented the Lord that he had established a Christian school and it grieved him in His heart. And God said, "My spirit shall not always strive with students. I shall destroy them whom I've created from the face of the earth." And some drew near and said to God, "Would thou destroy the righteous with the wicked? Peradventure there be 450 students within the school who are righteous; would thou destroy and not spare the school because of only 30 wicked? That be far from thee to do after this manner--to slay the righteous with the wicked. And that the righteous should be as the wicked--that be far from thee. Should not the judge of all the earth do right?" And the Lord said, "For 450 righteous students I will spare the school." And again some said, "We have taken upon ourselves to speak unto the Lord which are but dust and ashes. Peradventure there should be 50 of the 450 righteous. Would thou spare the school for lack of 50?" And God said, "If I find there 400 I will spare the school." And they spake yet again, "Peradventure there be but 350 righteous in the school?" And he said, "For their sakes, I will not destroy it." Then they said, "O let not the Lord be angry. Peradventure only half the student body is righteous; will you destroy the righteous with the wicked?" And God said, "I will not destroy it on their behalf." And the Lord went his way as soon as he had left communing with these intercessors.

Well, praise God, there were students who found grace in the eyes of the Lord and did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord and did that which was righteous in the sight of the Lord and did as able students before them, and God spared the school because of the righteous found therein.

And it came to pass that God raised up prophets from among the people to challenge students in the way of discipleship. Students heard the challenge--"Choose ye this day whom you will serve." As the claims of Christ were presented some mocked. Others said, "We will hear more of this manner," and others believed. Now there came a day when God said to Satan, "Satan, have you considered my faithful ones at LMHS? They are perfect; they are upright; they fear God and eschew evil?" Then Satan answered the Lord, "Do they fear you for naught? Hast thou not built a hedge about them? They have chapel in the morning, prayer cells during the day, required Bible subjects in order to graduate, and even math has spiritual applications in addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division." Then God said, "Behold all that they have is in thy power. Only upon themselves, put not forth thy hand." So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord determined to break the faith of the faithful.

Now there came a day when the students were attacked by every wind of doctrine. Blood was unnecessary for salvation.

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Once you are saved, you can never be lost. Only certain people can be saved. In the end God will save all people. If you don't speak in tongues, you don't have the Holy Spirit. Nothing is really right or wrong because there are no absolutes. God is dead. Sex is beautiful. Spirituality can be found in drugs. Don't trust anyone over 30.

So powerful were Satan's thrusts that some students succumbed. But others were more noble in that they searched the scriptures daily to ascertain what was of God. While this testing was still in evidence the great winds of discontent blew upon the school. More trips, more films, more sports, more liberties, less homework, less discipline--became the cry of many. But the faithful remembered that godliness with contentment is great gain. In all this the faithful sinned not nor charged God foolishly. Again there was a day when the Lord conversed with Satan and said, "Have you considered my faithful students at Lancaster Mennonite High School, that they are perfect and upright. They fear God and eschew evil, and though you have tested them with false claims and have blown upon them the winds of discontent, still they hold fast to their integrity." And Satan answered, "These testings have come from without. But let me touch their inner spirits, and that will cause them to curse thee to thy face." So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord to touch the inner spirits of the faithful. Tactics of doubt, fear, depression, jealousy, anger, pride, and other termites of the spirit were used. But again results were limited, for the school was founded upon the rock Jesus Christ, and the gates of hell could not prevail against it.

Let us pray. Father, we've not attempted in any way to abuse your word today. We don't believe that your word needs an updating. It doesn't need to be rewritten but we believe it needs to be reread. And I would ask you today that in the hearts of all staff members and all students give us a desire to reread that word, to find out what you do say about light and darkness, wise men and foolish men, Christ and Belial, and all of the other comparisons. Help us not to find so many gray areas, but help us to see sin as sin, and righteousness as righteousness, and help us to walk in that way so that it might be heard in the ears of all of us, "Come ye blessed of my father, inherit thou the kingdom that has been prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Thank you, Lord, for making this possible. Through Christ we pray. Amen.

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APPENDIX R

CHAPEL PRESENTATION, MAY 1973*

Next Saturday will be a special day for many of you. You will be given a diploma, a kind of reward for 12 years of school attendance and work. Today is a special day for some of you. You will receive awards for outstanding achievement in various fields. Some of you have received recognition in various ways through the year. You may have gotten your picture in the paper or been asked to sing a solo, or had a leading role in a play, or gotten four ribbons for track and field events. I am happy to be a part of a school that has so many outstanding people.

But some of you haven't had any leading roles or gotten any ribbons. You didn't get your picture in the paper as student of the week or Student Council fund drive organizer. You wondered sometimes if anybody really noticed you, if anybody cared about your attitudes, your hard work that didn't win any laurels. Perhaps you wondered sometimes what you could do to get a reward.

I think Jesus understands our need for recognition and for rewards. He had a good bit to say about them in His Sermon on the Mount. He began that sermon by promising rewards, big ones like the kingdom of heaven, the earth, mercy, seeing God, the title "children of God." Nothing quite that exciting is being given away in the assembly today. Jesus had more to say about rewards. He promised them for giving with the right attitude, for praying sincerely, and for fasting with a good motive.

Teachers, parents, employers, and administrators are apt to reward a person for what he does. Naturally--that's what we see. But many of the rewards Jesus promised are for what a person is--poor in spirit, meek, merciful, pure in heart. However, these characteristics become obvious in a person's life. You probably can think of persons you could give those titles to. You probably also have some idea of whether or not you are in line for some of those rewards Jesus promised. Does that sound too presuming?

Paul said in Romans 12:3, "In virtue of the gift that God in his grace has given me, I say to everyone among you: do not be conceited or think too highly of

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*Presented by Janet Gehman, faculty member, prior to the Awards Assembly.

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yourself; but think your way to a sober estimate based on the measure of faith that God has dealt to each of you" (NEB). On the one hand don't be conceited; on the other hand come to a sober or sane, sensible estimate of what you are in Christ. A sober estimate is neither extremely high nor extremely low. Paul continues in Romans 12 to remind us of the various gifts God has given us and of our responsibility in both recognizing and using these gifts.

Can you think soberly this morning about yourself? About your gifts? Your use of these gifts? Admitting you have those gifts and being thankful for them? Think soberly about the kind of person you are. And don't modestly push that last idea away. Jesus promised them. Are you going to question His judgment and spoil His pleasure by refusing them or denying your right to them? If you believe the Sermon on the Mount is a practical guide for us today, then you must also accept His promise of reward. If you accept that sermon as a guide, and have been living it daily here at school, you are in line for some rewards.

I was thinking of the Beatitudes especially, and wondering how a student who is poor in spirit or meek, or hungering after righteousness would show what kind of person he is. So I looked around and I thought about what I had seen and heard this year, and I decided that many students are piling up treasure in heaven, that many of you will be rewarded with the really big awards even though you don't get one today. I would like to take each Beatitude, read it in the King James and then in the New English versions and tell you of a few people who I think are showing evidence of being or becoming that kind of person.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." and "How blest are those who know their need of God; the kingdom of heaven is theirs." I think those are the students who

- did not use chapel as a substitute for a private devotional time.
- volunteered or consented to speak in chapel.
- faced tests with two strengths: adequate preparation and confidence in God's help.
- could ask a friend, "Pray for me."
- were a regular member of a Bible study group or of a prayer group.

Their reward--theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted," and "How blest are the sorrowful; they shall find consolation." I think those are the students who

- confessed cheating even when there was little likelihood they would be discovered.
- regretted gossip and refused to listen or pass it on.
- refused to be involved in vandalism or to protect those who were.
- felt compassion and regret when other students were involved in crime.
- shared concerns for the school, its faculty, and students with parents and pastors who really care also.

Their reward--they shall be comforted.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," and "How blest are those of a gentle spirit; they shall have the earth for their possession." Those are the students who

- thanked the cooks for a good dinner.
- listened when others talked and then responded to them.
- worked not just for a merit, but to please others, themselves, and God.
- did not limit their circle of friends to one or two, ignoring others or making others feel unwanted.
- did not feel envious of those who made higher grades.
- returned the song book quietly to its rack.
- took punishment without becoming hostile to those who had discovered or punished their wrongdoing.
- congratulated those who achieved success where they themselves had not succeeded.
- made a special effort to be friendly to visitors.

Their reward--they shall inherit the earth.

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness for they shall be filled," and "How blest are those who hunger and thirst to see right prevail; they shall be satisfied." Those are the students who

- erased marks on desks rather than deepening a groove.
- did not clap at inappropriate times in chapel even though others did.
- started songs as students entered chapel.

- did not hide behind excuses of being bashful, or just a freshman, or just a new student, or just an average or below-average student in finding ways to contribute to the school.
- who wrote letters to the editor or posted an opinion.

Their reward--they shall be satisfied.

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy," and "How blest are those who show mercy; mercy shall be shown to them." Those are the students who

- saw me carrying a projector and turned around to help.
- showed friendliness to a lonely person.
- definitely helped a substitute teacher instead of taking advantage of his newness.
- prayed for a teacher having difficulty in classroom control or in lesson presentation.

Their reward--mercy shall be shown to them.

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," and "How blest are those whose hearts are pure; they shall see God." Those are the students who

- have a wholeness, an integrity, a oneness in their desire to serve God.
- keep quiet in chapel when others are talking.
- are happy to say, "I go to LMH."
- feel responsible to prepare to serve God through the church.
- who do not feel a need to change the subject or the type of language when a teacher walks by.
- do not need to leave the lavs with a guilty conscience when a teacher walks in.
- have no reason to feel uneasy about other people seeing their doodling or reading their notes.

Their reward--they shall see God.

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God," and "How blest are the peacemakers; God shall call them his sons." Those are the students who

- brought paper to the recycling center.
- did not take food they would not eat.
- reserved judgment, giving teachers and other students a chance.
- could ask forgiveness if they hurt a fellow student, intentionally or not.
- continue to pray for students or faculty obviously not at peace with themselves or with others.

Their reward--God shall call them his sons.

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," and "How blest are those who have suffered persecution for the cause of right; the kingdom of Heaven is theirs." Those are the students who

- refused to cheat, perhaps becoming unpopular with a certain group.
- dared to differ, not just to be different, but out of conviction.
- followed conscience and the Holy Spirit's guidance in reporting wrongdoing.
- forgave a teacher or bus driver or another student who misjudged them and blamed them unfairly.

Their reward--the kingdom of heaven is theirs.

Another one-- Blessed is he that readeth? "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom and the man that getteth understanding." (Proverbs 3:13). Those are the students who

- did extra work just for the excitement of it.
- volunteered to bring books or records to class to add interest and information.
- did not neglect their schoolwork to hold down a job they didn't really need.
- got up early to milk cows, deliver papers, etc and still managed to stay awake in class.
- did not delight in arguing just to back a teacher or student into a corner or to acquire an extra point on a test.
- but did enjoy giving (or taking) a challenge to do creative thinking.
- care about the grade on their report card even if they don't need the credit to graduate.
- but they care more about what they have discovered about themselves, about God, about the world, about their place in the community of the church than they do about their letter grade.

Their reward--according to Proverbs, long life, riches, honor, peace, and happiness.

I haven't included nearly all the kinds of behavior that I would like to reward or that God has promised to reward. But I hope that all of you have been able to identify with some of the students I've mentioned. I want you to feel blessed as Jesus said you are, to be happy, to feel good. I didn't intend to make you feel guilty, although that may have happened. I felt guilt as I thought on the Beatitudes and realized where I didn't deserve blessing.

00237

Neither do I want you to assume from what I have said that as soon as you have done something commendable, you should think about your reward. Jesus also said that some of the awards given at the Judgment Day will be unexpected. In Matthew 25 we read, "Then shall the righteous answer him saying, 'Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, and fed thee, or thirsty and gave thee drink?'" And the King's answer is evidently a surprise. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." However, I believe the Bible clearly shows us what kind of behavior is expected of Christians and also gives us some idea of the rewards God gives.

Congratulations to those of you who will receive awards this morning. I do not mean in any way to minimize them. If I were a student I'd be thrilled to get one. But congratulations also to all of you who have your eyes fixed on a higher prize--that of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. The kingdom of heaven is yours.

Prayer: Thank you, God, for caring about our behavior, our attitudes, the kind of persons we are. Thank you, too, for understanding our need for recognition when we do well, our need for reward. Help us to rejoice with those who receive special recognition this morning. Help us to think soberly about the gifts you have given us, about the rewards you have promised, and to consider the greatest reward of all to be called your sons and daughters.

APPENDIX S

CAMPUS CHORALE ALBUM COVER--1969

00239

APPENDIX T

QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULES

Code*

SMT Write your full name:

SMPTN Indicate your sex: __Male __Female

SMN Indicate your grade in school: 9th 10th 11th 12th

S What is the name of the high school you attend now?

S Where did you attend school last year (1972-73)?
__ Lancaster Mennonite High School
__ Public high school
__ Mennonite elementary school
__ Other:

SP Are you a member of the Mennonite Church?

SP If no to previous question, what is your denomination?

SP There are 10 numbered blanks on the page below. Please write 10 answers to the simple question, "Who am I?" in the blanks. Just give 10 different answers to this question. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you. Don't worry about logic or "importance." Go fairly fast, for time is limited.

(Followed by 10 numbered blanks)

SMPN There are four possible responses for each of the statements below. Each response is numbered from 1 to 4 as indicated. Place the number of the response which best reflects your feeling in the empty blank beside the statement.

Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree
4 3 2 1

*Code letters instead of numerical numbers are included to designate in which questionnaire form the item appeared: S = September 1973 student form, M = May 1974 student form, P = Parental form, T = Teacher form, N = Non-Mennonite student form

00240

SMPN

__ I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.

__ I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

__ All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

__ I am able to do things as well as most other people.

__ I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

__ I take a positive attitude toward myself.

__ On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

__ I wish I could have more respect for myself.

__ I certainly feel useless at times.

__ At times I think I am no good at all.

SPTN Please rank the following statements in the order of their importance for you. Study the following list carefully. Quickly place a 1 beside the statement which is most important to <u>you</u>. Place a 2 beside the statement which is second most important, etc. The statement which is <u>least</u> important should be ranked 18. DO NOT REPEAT A NUMBER.

__ A comfortable life (a prosperous life)
__ An exciting life (a stimulating, active life)
__ A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution)
__ A world of beauty (beauty of nature and the arts)
__ A world of peace (free of wars and conflicts)
__ Equality (brotherhood)
__ Family security (taking care of loved ones)
__ Freedom (independence, free choice)
__ Happiness (contentedness)
__ Inner harmony (freedom from inner conflict)
__ Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
__ National Security (protection from attack)
__ Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
__ Salvation (saved, eternal life)
__ Self-respect (self-esteem)
__ Social recognition (respect, admiration)
__ True friendship (close companionship)
__ Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)

00241

The next statements describe various beliefs about God, the church, and other people. There are 5 possible responses for each statement. Place the number of the appropriate response which best reflects <u>your</u> <u>feeling</u> about the statement in the empty blank beside the statement.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
5	Agree 4	Uncertain 3	Disagree 2	1

SMPTN __ I have no doubts about the fact that God really exists.

SMPTN __ Jesus was not only human but also is the Divine Son of God.

SMPTN __ I think the miracles in the Bible are stories about events that never really happened.

SMPTN __ I believe Jesus' physical resurrection was a made-up story which didn't really happen.

SMPTN __ I believe Jesus was born of a virgin.

SMPTN __ I doubt if Jesus will ever return to earth again.

SMPTN __ I believe God created the earth and all living things in six 24-hour days.

SMPTN __ I believe there was a flood in Noah's day which destroyed all human life except for Noah's family.

SMPTN __ I doubt if there is life beyond death.

SMPTN __ Satan, as a personal devil, is active in the world today.

SMPTN __ I doubt if the Bible is actually the inspired Word of God.

SMPTN __ I believe God has a divine plan for my life.

SMPTN __ I don't believe that there is a Holy Spirit.

SMPTN __ All adults who die without accepting Christ as their personal saviour will spend eternity in Hell.

SMPTN __ Jesus Christ is the only way to salvation for all men.

SPT __ Mennonites should be willing to go to prison rather than serve in the military forces.

SPT __ In any situation involving moral issues, there is only one right (correct) choice for a person to make.

00242

SMPT __ Mennonite schools are too sheltered and narrow in their outlook on life.

SPT __ It is all right to marry a Mennonite convert who is of a different race or nationality.

SPT __ Other Christians can easily see who is living a Christian life.

SPT __ A Christian should never question the authority of church leaders.

SMPTN __ I feel very far away from God.

SPT __ Mennonites should be members of Mennonite Mutual Aid rather than holding commercial insurance policies.

SPT __ A Christian should not read a Horoscope to learn about the future.

SPT __ Most people in society think that Mennonites are at the bottom of the social class ladder.

SMPT __ Every Mennonite should be well informed about the history of his denomination.

SPT __ The Mennonite Church is losing out fast on its nonconformity witness.

SMPT __ An education in a church-related school is <u>not</u> worth the additional cost above public education.

SPTN __ The United States government should take every opportunity to stamp out communism at home and abroad.

SMPT __ The Mennonite Church should continue to operate church-related schools.

SPT __ It's really hard to tell a Mennonite apart from anyone else these days.

SPT __ Every Mennonite adult should read the Gospel Herald regularly.

SPT __ Serving in programs administered by the church (such as VS or Pax) is preferable to serving in programs administered by the government (like Peace Corps).

SPT __ Most people think that Mennonites lack many of the common social graces.

SPT __ Mennonites are quickly becoming like the rest of the world.

SPT __ Every Mennonite should support our Mennonite mission boards financially.

00243

SPTN __ The Vietnam War was necessary as a means of stopping the spread of communism in Asia.

SPT __ There is a biblical basis for the separation of the races.

SPT __ We can thank God that the leaders of our nation are Christian.

SPTN __ Capital punishment is necessary to stop crime and should be continued by our government.

SMPT __ I am glad when non-Mennonites find out that I am a Mennonite.

SPT __ The general public has a lot of respect for Mennonites.

SMPT __ Sometimes I am ashamed of some of our Mennonite practices.

SPT __ The temptations for sin all about us are greater than they ever were.

SMPT __ I am not happy to be a Mennonite.

SPT __ Secular values aren't much of a threat to the Mennonite Church.

SPT __ The evil forces in the world around us are increasing all the time.

SMPT __ I don't receive much satisfaction from attending Mennonite church services.

SPT __ People in general tend to look down on Mennonites.

SMPT __ The Mennonite way of life is very important to me.

SPT __ A Christian has to be very careful not to get caught in the "snares" of the devil these days.

SPT __ Persons who do not follow "God's will" will be punished.

SMPT __ I'd rather belong to the Mennonite Church than any other denomination.

SPT __ How you treat other people is more important than the details of what you believe.

SMPT __ I am glad to be a member of the Mennonite Church.

SPT __ Every person has a free will.

SPT __ It is always possible for a person to know God's will.

SMPT __ Sometimes I wish that I were not a Mennonite.

00244

SPT __ Mennonites ought to strongly support the evangelistic ministry of Billy Graham.

SPT __ It is all right for a Mennonite to marry persons outside the Mennonite Church if they are born-again Christians.

SMPT __ I have a deep respect for our historic Mennonite beliefs.

SMPT __ I'd prefer if some of my friends didn't know that I go to a Mennonite church.

SPTN __ Although there is no essential difference between blacks and whites, it is preferable for them not to mingle socially.

SPT __ A member of the Mennonite Church ought not to pay the part of his income taxes that goes for military purposes.

SPT __ It would be good for every Mennonite to serve at least a short time with a church organization like Mennonite Disaster Service or Voluntary Service.

SPTN __ The government ought to decrease welfare payments to persons who live in poverty.

SMPT __ I appreciate our Mennonite customs and traditions.

SPTN __ America is a great Christian nation with liberty for all.

SMPT __ Mennonite schools do not prepare their students to live in the "real world."

SMPT __ I am definitely growing in my Christian life.

SMPT __ For me, being a Mennonite has more bad points than good points.

SMPTN __ The Holy Spirit is a real person to me.

SMPT __ I have a strong feeling of attachment to our Mennonite heritage.

SMPTN __ I feel the presence of Jesus in my daily life.

SPT __ The goal of Christian education should be to help a person understand God's will for his life.

SPT __ Most of my neighbors have positive feelings toward Mennonites.

SPT __ American society is a bad influence on the Mennonite Church.

SPT __ A Mennonite should be obedient to the rules and discipline of the church.

00245

SMPT __ I think the Mennonite Church has an important message for the world today.

SPT __ In the eyes of most people, Mennonites are ahead of the times.

MN __ The teachers in my school are very willing to help any of their students who have special problems.

MN __ The teachers in my school take a personal interest in each of their students.

SMPT The statements below refer to some practical issues we are faced with today. Mennonites have different convictions about some of these activities. Do you think a Mennonite should participate in these activities? Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement by placing the number of your response (1 to 5) in the empty blank beside the statement.

Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

__ There may be circumstances when it would be proper for a Mennonite to file a lawsuit against another person.

__ Farming is still one of the best occupations.

__ It is all right to place flowers at the front of the church auditorium.

__ Feet washing is an outdated practice.

__ It is important to kneel for congregational prayer.

__ Mennonites should not hold political offices of any kind.

__ The "lot" is still the best way to select a preacher.

__ A teenager should not go swimming with a friend of the opposite sex if they are dating.

__ Ministers ought to serve on a full-time basis.

__ It is all right for a woman to be a congregational song leader.

__ It is all right to show religious films in the church auditorium.

__ It is preferable for ladies to wear cape dresses.

00246

SMPT

__ Every family should have a television set.

__ Women should wear their prayer veiling when they appear in public places.

__ Accapella singing (without instruments) should be the only type of music in the Sunday morning service.

__ Men should not wear "short" (cut above the knee) trousers.

__ There's nothing wrong with going to a high school dance.

__ Fellows should not let their hair cover their ears.

__ There is nothing wrong with wearing a high school class ring.

__ It is all right to watch movies in a theatre.

__ It is best not to wear "bright" colored clothing.

__ It is best if men and women sit on separate sides of the church during Sunday morning worship.

__ Drama is an appropriate way to communicate the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

__ Mennonites should be allowed to marry non-Christians outside of the Mennonite Church.

__ It is all right if girls cut their hair short.

__ The holy kiss should be expressed more often among church members.

__ Married couples should wear wedding bands.

__ Women with small children should not have a job outside their home.

__ Girls should not wear slacks to a youth group picnic.

__ It is all right to drink beer occasionally.

__ It is all right to play cards with poker cards.

__ It is all right to eat at a restaurant on Sunday.

__ It is improper to wear a floor length gown and a veil at a wedding in a Mennonite church.

__ It is all right to watch movies rated for "adults only" (R and X rated).

__ It is wrong to smoke tobacco.

00247

SMPT

__ It is all right for girls to wear eye shadow.

__ It is wrong to read "Playboy" magazine.

__ Mennonite preachers should be required to wear a plain suit.

__ It is wrong to listen to "popular" music on the radio.

__ A nonordained member should not be allowed to preach in a Sunday morning service.

SPT There are five blanks below. Please write five answers to the question: "For me being a Mennonite means . . ." (Followed by 5 blanks)

SPT When you think of the "world" what things do you think of? (Followed by 4 blanks)

SPT In general, how would you describe a Mennonite. Just list whatever words you think of. (Followed by 4 blanks)

SPT List what you think are some of the "good" changes taking place in the Mennonite Church. (Followed by 5 blanks)

SPT List some of the "bad" changes which are taking place in the Mennonite Church. (Followed by 5 blanks)

SPT The following questions inquire as to when you normally wear the prayer covering (or when you think it should be worn. Circle a Yes or No for EACH question.

Women: Circle the answer which indicates when you normally would wear it, if you were in the situation listed below.

Men: Circle the answer which indicates when you think women should wear the covering.

Example: Wear it to family reunions.	Yes	No
Wear it Sunday morning to church.	Yes	No
Wear it to youth group Bible study.	Yes	No
Wear it to visit a museum.	Yes	No
Wear it to go shopping.	Yes	No

00248

SPT

Wear it at work as a waitress.	Yes	No
Wear it to a youth group taffy pull.	Yes	No
Wear it to play baseball.	Yes	No
Wear it while housecleaning at home.	Yes	No
Wear it at home for meals.	Yes	No
Wear it to a 4-H Club meeting.	Yes	No

SPT If a tourist were to ask you what the prayer veiling means, what reasons would you give?
(Followed by 4 blanks)

SM The following question has five (5) steps to it. Carefully complete one step at a time.

Steps	Example	Mother	Father
1. First name	Harry		
2. Liking	7		
3. Similarity	1		
4. Influence	3		
5. Hours	29		

STEP 1: Place the first name of your parents in the first row in the diagram above.

STEP 2: Think about how much you like being with each of your parents. Place a number from 1 to 7 in the column under each parent's name. Use the scale below to select a number. If you like a parent very much, you would place a 7 under his name. If you like him very little, you would place a 1 under his name.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
like very little						like very much

STEP 3: How similar are your convictions and beliefs with your parents' convictions and beliefs? Place a number under each parent's name to indicate how similar you think your ideas are with your parents'.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very different						very similar

STEP 4: How much do the opinions and convictions of your parents influence your own ideas? Place a number under each parent's name to indicate how much his ideas influence you.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
influence very little						influence very much

STEP 5: Think about how many hours you usually spend with each parent talking or doing things together each week. Place the approximate number of hours you spend with each parent each week under his name.

SM The following question has five (5) steps to it. Carefully complete one step at a time.

Steps	First Teacher	Second Teacher	Third Teacher
1. First initial & last name			
2. Liking			
3. Similarity			
4. Influence			
5. Hours			

STEP 1: Think about the faculty members at your school. List in order of importance the names of three (3) faculty members at your school whose ideas and opinions are important to you. These might include teachers with whom you have classes or other faculty members such as dormitory supervisors and administrators.

STEP 2: Think about how much you like being with each of these three teachers. Place a number from 1 to 7 in the column under each teacher's name. Use the scale below to select a number. If you like a teacher very much, you would place a 7 under his name. If you like him very little, you would place a 1 under his name.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
like very little						like very much

00250

STEP 3: How similar are your convictions and beliefs with these three teachers' convictions and beliefs? Place a number under each teacher's name to indicate how similar you think your ideas are with your teacher's ideas.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very very
different similar

STEP 4: How much do the opinions and convictions of these three teachers influence your own ideas? Place a number under each teacher's name to indicate how much his ideas influence you.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
influence influence
very little very much

STEP 5: Think about how many hours you usually spend with each teacher talking or doing things together each week. Place the approximate number of hours you spend with each teacher each week under his name.

SM How often do you and your four school friends eat lunch together as a group? __Never __Sometimes __Usually

SM How often do you and your four school friends do things together on weekends as a group? __Never __Sometimes __Usually

SM Do all of your four school friends know each other fairly well? __Yes __No

S How many of the four friends you listed above already attended Lancaster Mennonite High School before you began attending Lancaster Mennonite High School? (Circle the correct number.) 0 1 2 3 4

S How many of the four friends you listed above were close friends of yours who started attending Lancaster Mennonite High School at the same time you did? (Circle the correct number.) 0 1 2 3 4

00251

SM Think about your parents, favorite teachers at school, and four best friends at school. Of these three types of persons, which ones would you ask for advice first on the following areas? Place a P (parents), F (school friends, or T (school teachers) in each blank space.

Example: P What type of ice cream to buy.

__ Whether or not to go to college
__ Premarital sex
__ Spiritual doubts
__ What type of clothes to wear
__ What type of clothes to buy
__ Buying records
__ Choosing an occupation
__ How to wear my hair
__ Going to movies
__ Understanding God's will
__ Buying a car
__ Academic problems
__ Personal problems
__ Which courses to take in high school
__ What to do on weekends
__ What TV programs to watch
__ What radio programs to listen to

Think for a moment of your five closest friends. Do not include your brothers and sisters. How many of them fit the following descriptions? Circle the correct number.

SM	How many attend public high school?	0 1 2 3 4 5
SM	How many attend Lancaster Mennonite High School?	0 1 2 3 4 5
SMP	How many are members of the Mennonite Church?	0 1 2 3 4 5
SP	How many live within a mile of your house?	0 1 2 3 4 5
S	How many are of the same sex as you are?	0 1 2 3 4 5
S	How many have you been close friends with for at least six months?	0 1 2 3 4 5
SM	How many are members of your church youth group?	0 1 2 3 4 5
S	How many do you see at least once a day?	0 1 2 3 4 5
SM	How many go to the same school you do?	0 1 2 3 4 5

00252

Circle the number on the two scales below to indicate how you feel about attending your high school.

SM How positive do you feel about going to your high school?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
very negative								very positive

S How eager are you to attend your high school this year?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
not eager								very eager

S How would you describe your conversion experience?
__ I'm not converted __ A gradual experience
__ A very sudden experience __ Other:

S Circle the number of brothers and sisters which you have? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

S In what order were you born in your family?
__ First
__ Last __ Between other brothers and sisters

S How often does your family have family worship or devotions together?
__ Never __ Once a week __ Daily
__ Once a month __ Several times a week

S Check the location where your parents presently live.
__ On a large farm (50 acres or more)
__ On a small farm (3-50 acres)
__ On a plot (less than three acres outside a village)
__ In a small town or village (under 2,500 population)
__ In a suburban development
__ In a city 2,500 - 25,000
__ In a city 25,000 or over

S What is the name of your congregation?

S In what state and county is your home?

S Do you live in the dormitory or do you commute to school? __ Dormitory __ Commute

00253

S The following is a list of various activities. There are five possible answers for each item. Please indicate how often you do each activity by placing the appropriate number from the scale on the blank beside the statement.

0	1	2	3	4
Never	Occasionally (once or twice a year)	Monthly (once or twice a month)	Weekly (once a week or more)	Daily (every day)

__ I read the Bible.
__ I read the Youth Messenger.
__ I attend church services.
__ I copy homework without the teacher's consent.
__ I smoke marijuana.
__ I listen to "popular" music.
__ I wear jewelry (class ring, friendship ring, necklace).
__ I eat meals without praying.
__ I use foul language.
__ I watch television.
__ I watch movies in commercial theatres.
__ I am involved in "petting" on dates.
__ I tell "dirty" jokes.
__ I disobey my parents.
__ I read "dirty" magazines and books.
__ I watch movies rated for "adults only."
__ I play cards with poker cards.
__ I have sexual intercourse.
__ I date non-Mennonites.

Fellows only
__ I drive recklessly.
__ My hair completely covers my ears.
__ I wear bermuda shorts ("cutoffs").

Girls only
__ I wear eye shadow.
__ I wear slacks.
__ I appear in public places without my covering.

S What is your favorite radio station?

S What is your favorite record right now?

S Who is your favorite recording artist or group?

S What is your favorite TV program?

S Who is your favorite movie star?

S What are the three magazines which you read the most? (Followed by 3 blanks)

00254

S How old were you when you were baptized?

S Write your age in years.

There are five possible responses for each of the statements listed below. Place the number of the response which best reflects <u>your</u> feeling in the empty blank beside the statement.

Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

SM ___ I am an active participant in my church's youth group.

SM ___ I really don't enjoy being with the kids in my church youth group.

SM ___ Nobody really cares about anybody else in our church youth group.

SN ___ I feel very close to my parents.

SN ___ The members of my family are often not considerate of each other.

SN ___ I have heated arguments with my parents.

SN ___ My parents really don't try to understand my problems.

SN ___ Our family has a happy home life.

S ___ Most of the men in my home congregation wear the plain suit.

S ___ My home congregation does not permit musical instruments to be used in the Sunday morning service.

S ___ Most of the young married couples in my congregation wear wedding bands.

S ___ My congregation often kneels for prayer on Sunday mornings.

S ___ Most of the women in our congregation wear their coverings only for the Sunday morning service.

S ___ My congregation has a full week of revival meetings each year.

00255

S Counting this school year, circle the number of years you have attended Lancaster Mennonite High School? 0 1 2 3 4

S Where did you attend school before you came to Lancaster Mennonite High School?
__ Mennonite elementary
__ Public school
__ Other:

S Why did you attend Lancaster Mennonite High School? (Check as many reasons as apply.)
__ My parents made me come.
__ My parents encouraged me to come.
__ My friends encouraged me to come.
__ I personally wanted to come.
__ Other:

S In your own words, why did you attend Lancaster Mennonite High School?

S Counting this school year, circle the number of years you have attended a public high school.
0 1 2 3 4

S Do you ever plan to attend Lancaster Mennonite High School? __ yes __ No __Not sure

S In your own words, why did you attend a public high school?

S Are you planning to continue your education after high school?

S If yes to the previous question, what type of schooling are you planning?
__ Technical school
__ Business school
__ Nurses training
__ Church college
__ Public college
__ Bible institute
__ Other:

S N How far do you think you will actually go in your educational experience? Circle the highest year.

high school	nurses training college	graduate school seminary
9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16	17 18 19 20 21

00256

SN How much education does your mother have? Circle the last year of school she completed.

								high				nurses training;				graduate school;				
	grade						school			school		college				seminary				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21

SN How much education does your father have? Circle the last year of school he completed?

								high				nurses training;				graduate school;				
	grade						school			school		college				seminary				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21

SN What is your father's chief occupation? Be as specific as you can.

SMN As you think about a future vocation, what would be your first and second vocational interests? (Followed by 2 blanks)

SPN Different people strive for different things. Here are some things that you have probably thought about. Among the things you strive for during high school days, how important is each of these? Rank them from 1 to 4: 1 for the most important, 4 for the least important.

__ Pleasing my parents
__ Learning as much as possible in school
__ Living up to my religious ideals
__ Being accepted and liked by other students

SN If you could be remembered here at school for one of the four things below, which one would you want to be? (Check one)

__ Brilliant student
__ Athletic star
__ Most popular
__ Dedicated Christian

M Place a mark beside the organizations and activities in your high school which you have participated in during the past year.

__ Sports
__ Class officers
__ Drama
__ Chorus
__ Clubs
__ Yearbook
__ Student Government
__ Student Newspaper
__ Christian Fellowship (i.e., YFC clubs, prayer groups, etc.)

00257

M Think about the types of persons who have influenced your thinking and ideas most during this past school year. Rank the types of persons from 1 to 6 in the order of the importance of their influence on your thinking--1 for the most influential, 6 for the least influential.

__ School Teachers
__ Friends at school
__ Parents
__ Adults in Church (i.e., Pastor, MYF Advisors)
__ Friends outside of school
__ Friends in Church Youth Group

M Have you seen the film "The Exorcist"? __Yes __No

M Do you think President Nixon should be impeached?
__ Yes __ No __Uncertain

M What one thing did you <u>like</u> <u>most</u> about your school this year?

M What one thing did you <u>dislike</u> <u>most</u> about your school this year?

M Have you taken the "Mennonite Life and Thought" course this year? __Yes __No

M Below is a list or student organizations. Think about the popularity or prestige of each group. Place a number from the scale below beside each group to indicate how popular you think it is in your school.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
very unpopular ... very popular

Example: _2_ Hopscotch Club

__ Junior Girls' Sextet
__ Honor Society
__ Varsity Soccer
__ Cross Country
__ Millstream Staff
__ Girls' Softball
__ Track and Field
__ Class Officers
__ Senior Men's Quartet
__ JV Soccer
__ Student Council
__ Campus Chorale
__ Quiz Teams
__ Varsity Girls' Basketball
__ Varsity Boys' Basketball
__ Varsity Field Hockey
__ JV Boys' Basketball
__ Laurelwreath Staff
__ Senior Girls' Sextet
__ JV Field Hockey
__ JV Girls' Basketball

00258

P Circle the last year of school you completed:

grade school	high school	nurses training; college	graduate school; seminary
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8/9	10 11 12/13	14 15 16/17	18 19 20 21

P Place a checkmark beside any of the following church schools which you attended.

__ Mennonite elementary school
__ Lancaster Mennonite High School
__ Mennonite high schools other than Lancaster Mennonite High School
__ A Mennonite college
__ Lancaster School of the Bible
__ Other:

P What kind of work do you do--your chief occupation?

P In what kind of company or business do you work?

P What are your specific duties at work?

P If you are a housewife, how many hours do you work outside your home each week?

__ None __ 5-10 hours __ Full-time
__ 1-5 hours __ 10-20 hours

P What type of work did your father do?

P What are the issues over which you and your teenager have experienced the most conflict and disagreements lately? (Followed by 4 blanks)

P Think for a moment of your five closest friends. Do not include members of your immediate family. How many of your five closest friends fit the following descriptions? Circle the correct number.

How many are members of your local congregation?	0 1 2 3 4 5
How many also work at your place of employment?	0 1 2 3 4 5
How many are Christians?	0 1 2 3 4 5

P If it were completely up to you, what type of work would you like to see your son or daughter go into?

P How close would you describe your personal relationship with your teenager(s)? (Check the best one.)

__ Very distant __ Quite close
__ Distant __ Extremely close
__ Moderately close

00259

P How would you describe your family life in general? (Check one.)

__ Very unhappy
__ Unhappy
__ Happy
__ Very happy

P Check the figures that come closest to the combined 1972 net income (before income taxes) for all members of your household living at home.

__ Below $3,000
__ 3,000 - 5,999
__ 6,000 - 8,999
__ 9,000 - 11,999
__ 12,000 - 14,999
__ 15,000 - 19,999
__ 20,000 - 24,999
__ 25,000 - 49,999
__ 50,000 and over
__ I have no information

P What percent of your income do you give to charitable causes?

__ none
__ 1 - 2 percent
__ 2 - 5 percent
__ 5-10 percent
__ 10-15 percent
__ over 15 percent

P How do you feel about your child going to college?

__ I have strongly encouraged him (her) to go.
__ I want him to go, but I have not strongly encouraged him.
__ I do not care one way or the other.
__ I do not want him to go to college.

P Would you encourage your child to attend a church college? __Yes __No

P Are you or your spouse ordained as a leader in the church?

__ No
__ As deacon
__ As minister
__ As bishop

P List the positions of leadership or responsibility you presently hold or have held in your local congregation during the past 3 years, such as minister, church council, S. S. teacher, committee chairman, youth group sponsor.
(Followed by 6 blanks)

P List positions of leadership or committee membership which you have held within your district conference or churchwide.
(Followed by 4 blanks)

00260

P Think for a moment of all the non-Mennonite organizations to which you belong, such as PTA, farm organizations, garden clubs, political parties, sports clubs, labor unions, community service clubs, business corporations, professional societies. List below those organizations you are a member of.

(Followed by 9 blanks)

P How many hours each day do you listen to WDAC on the radio?

__ None
__ 1/2 hour
__ 1 hour
__ 2 - 5 hours
__ More than 5 hours

P How many hours each day do you watch television?

__ None
__ 1/2 hour
__ 1 hour
__ 2 - 5 hours
__ More than 5 hours

P Place a number beside the following magazines to indicate how often you read them.

0=never, 1=occasionally, 2=usually, 3=regularly very

__ Gospel Herald
__ Missionary Messenger
__ Volunteer
__ Youth Messenger
__ Christian Living
__ Guidelines for Today
__ Mennonite Weekly Review
__ Sword and Trumpet
__ Christianity Today
__ Moody Monthly
__ Decision
__ Newspaper
__ News magazines
__ Reader's Digest

P Of the items below, what is the single most important thing you would like to see your child accomplish in his or her life? (Check one.)

__ Financial security
__ Happy family life
__ Outstanding in his field of work
__ Reach a higher social standing
__ Do what gives him the most personal satisfaction
__ Effective Christian witness

P On the average, how many hours do you spend each day talking and/or working with your teenage child?

__ Very little
__ 1/4 hour
__ 1/2 hour
__ 1 hour
__ 1 - 2 hours
__ 3 - 4 hours
__ 5 - 6 hours
__ more than 6 hours

00261

P Check below the areas in which you make rules for the conduct of your teenage children. (Check as many as apply.)

__ A set time for being in at night
__ Amount of dating
__ Against going steady
__ Time spent watching TV
__ Time spent on homework
__ Against going around with certain friends
__ Use of the car
__ What type of clothing to wear
__ About going to church
__ No rules for any of the above items

P How many times per week does your whole family eat a meal together?

P Does your family usually take a vacation together each year? __Yes __No

P Why did your child attend a public high school (or Lancaster Mennonite High School)? (Check as many reasons as apply.)

__ I made him/her attend
__ I encouraged him/her to attend.
__ I did not encourage him/her to attend
__ I encouraged him/her not to attend.
__ Other:

P List some of the reasons why you encouraged your child to attend the school that he/she did.
(Followed by 4 blanks)

00262

APPENDIX U

LIST OF PROJECT DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS DEVELOPED IN WHOLE OR IN PART DURING THE INVESTIGATION

Kraybill, Donald B.

1973 A Content and Structural Analysis of Mennonite High School Songs. Paper presented to the Pennsylvania Sociological Society Annual Meeting, November 1 and 2, 1974.

1974 Socialization in a Changing Ethnic Context. Ph.D. dissertation (To be completed May 1975), Department of Sociology, Temple University.

1974 Lancaster Mennonite High School: A Case Study in Defensive Structuring. Unpublished paper.

Peters, Robert

1974 An Unobtrusive Measure of Acculturation: The Mennonite Plain Suit. "Best Student Paper" Award at the Pennsylvania Sociological Society Annual Meeting, November 1 and 2, 1974.

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INTERVIEWS

Formal, tape-recorded interviews were conducted with the following persons:

Brubaker, J. Lester
Brubaker, Landis
Drescher, James
Frank, Dean
Gish, Martin
Good, Noah
Graybill, J. Paul
Groff, Marlin
Hess, James H.
Keener, Clayton
Kraybill, John
Lutz, Clarence
Martin, Tom
Shenk, Phillip
Stoner, Clyde B.
Thomas, David N.
Weaver, Amos
Wenger, Edna
Wenger, Samuel
Witmer, Howard

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